UNHAPPY INDIA
By
LALA LAJPAT RAI
(in Response to Mother India)

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PREFACE

Not many words are needed to send out this book into the world. I claim neither originality nor literary merit for it. In my judgment it is easier to write an original thesis than to hunt up authorities, verify and quote them. But being the member of a subject race, writing a book in defence of my motherland, in refutation of the calumnies invented and circulated throughout the world from base motives, I could not but refer to, and quote from authorities. There are not many statements in this book (in fact I doubt if there are any) in support of which reputed and reliable authority has not been quoted. It is easy to speak ill of the under-dog. It is difficult to defend him. The very fact that he is an under-dog goes against him. Nothing is more humiliating than the necessity of quoting the testimony of foreigners in defence. The process in itself involves an admission of inferiority. But there is no use hiding the fact that the white peoples of the West are not prepared to accept and believe any testimony but that of persons of their own race and colour. The book has been written mainly for them, and so it has been necessary to keep

their needs in view. The foreign editions are to be larger in size and to contain extra matter that, for various reasons, could not be embodied in this edition.

Efforts are also being made to collect illustrations for the foreign edition. My best thanks are due to my fellow-worker and friend, Lala Feroz Chand, Editor of *The People*, but for whose collaboration the book might not have been prepared, printed and published so soon.

One word more and I have done. It is with extreme reluctance, amounting to pain, that I have referred to certain phases of American life. There is another side of American life—beautiful, noble, humane, full of the milk of human kindness for all races, all colours and all peoples of the world, of which I had personal experience during my five years' residence in that country. In order to expiate the sin of noting down some of the dark spots of American life in this book I may have to write another book depicting the bright traits of American character in the shape of personal narrative and character sketches. In this book these would be out of place. They would not fit in with my argument. I hope my American friends will pardon me for giving only one side of American life. America was not the theme of

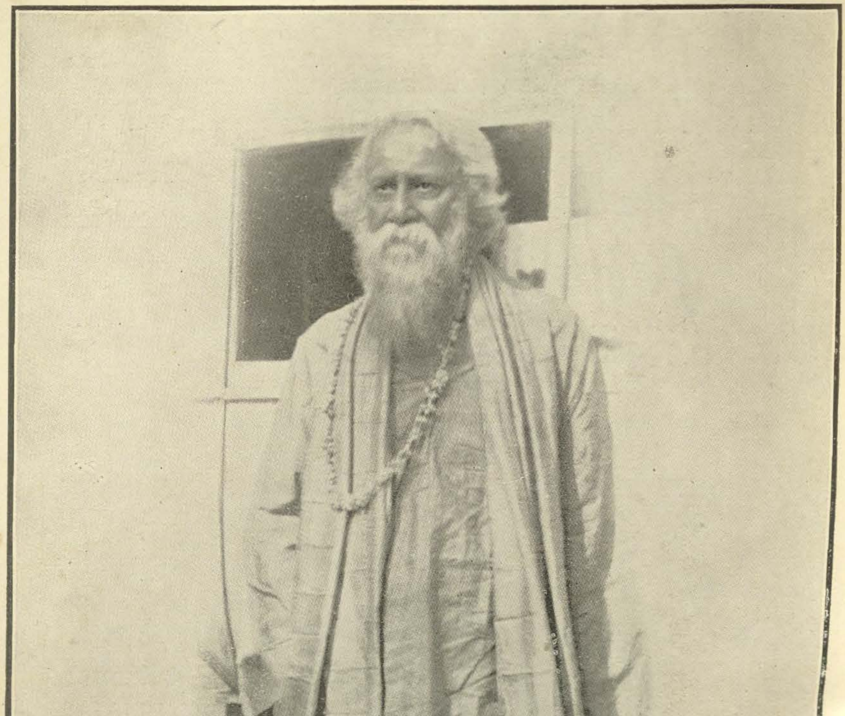
this book. I have spoken of certain phases of American life only by way of comparison.

The book has been prepared, printed and published in great hurry. No one is more conscious of its defects than my humble self, but there is one satisfaction that nothing is stated herein which I do not believe to be true.

In referring to *Mother India* I have used the English edition.

New Delhi:

January, 1928. LAJPAT RAI.



Rabindranath Tagore

Perhaps no man in modern times has shown such versatility in so many branches of art and letters as Rabindranath Tagore, poet, philosopher, novelist, short story writer, dramatist, essayist and musical composer.

Rabindranath is also possessed of rare histrionic gifts and a phantastic imagination for design and decoration. He is also famous as an educationist, social reformer and a religious leader of the Brahmo Samaj.

INTRODUCTION

I.

Subjection to foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of the decay of nations.—Prof. E. A. Ross.

Speaking from a national point of view, no curse is greater than that of political subjection to another people. The marching hordes of a monarch are nothing in their ruinous effects on the country they overrun as compared with the gradual loss of a country's freedom by the complete subjugation of its people by a foreign army and its governance through the fear of bayonets. The invader comes, plundering, devastating, uprooting and sweeping everything before it like a hurricane. But he either goes away with his plunder or settles down in the country and identifies himself with the people. To the first type belonged invaders like Alexander, Mahmud of Ghazni, Timur, Chengiz Khan, Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali; to the second belonged men who led the Scythians and the Huns into India and settled down here and became a part and parcel of the Indian nation, or like Mahmud of Ghor and Babar laid the foundations of dynasties deep on the soil of India.

It is true that in either case a great deal of humiliation, degradation and economic loss is suffered by the people of the country, but

eventually the people and the invader become one. They mingle their blood one with the other, they exchange their cultures and ways of life, and strive for the evolution of a new culture and a new people with the strong points of both. In either case the curse of foreign rule is neither so keen and poignant, nor so devastating and humiliating as it is when a nation imposes its rule over another and maintains it by all her political, economic and military resources. An appeal to the generosity, magnanimity and sense of justice in an individual sovereign or ruler may for once meet with success, but that to a nation or a democracy never can. No rule over a foreign people is so exacting and so merciless in its operations as that of a democracy. A democratic form of government may be good for domestic purposes, but the domination of a democracy over other peoples is disastrous in its effects, and is fraught with possibilities of infinite mischief.

Political subjection is the punishment of social evils and national crimes, but once imposed, it adds to their volume and intensity. It effectively checks any rejuvenation or reconstruction. It accentuates social evils and weaknesses. It leads to poverty in all its hideous forms, mental, moral and physical. If ever an awakening comes, it is delayed, or checked and crushed by all the forces of law and diplomacy, and of cunning and fraud. It is a part of the imperial game to paint the subject people in the blackest colours, and to slander and libel them most shamelessly. The object is to produce and perpetuate the slave

mentality of the subject people, and to obtain the moral sanction of the rest of the world for usurping the rights, properties and liberties of other peoples. This is the genesis of the cult of the white man's burden. This is the mentality which stimulates the Empire-builder. This is the material with which the 'steel frames' are forged to keep the subject peoples in bondage and to prevent them 'from doing harm to themselves' by aspiring to, and working for their freedom. That is how Britain made her Empire in India; that is how the U. S. A. took possession of the Philippine Isles and now refuses to vacate them.

It is true that sometimes empire-making begins in a fit of self-forgetfulness, for temporary purposes of safety or trade, but soon, very soon, it becomes wilful and unscrupulous empire-building. Empires built and made have to be maintained and managed and fresh territories added to it. Sometimes, however, empires based on fraud and maintained by force, have the knack of awakening the political consciousness of the subject peoples. Political domination leads to economic exploitation. Economic exploitation leads to dirt, disease and distress, until they drive even the meekest people on earth to rebellion, passive or active, and create the desire for freedom. The rulers resent this. At first they try to crush this spirit for emancipation out of existence by ridicule and contempt, or by ignoring it altogether. Then comes the stage of control, which is followed by a policy of repression *cum* conciliation leading to cunning

and fraud, chicanery and charlatanism. The struggle goes on. The Imperialists divide themselves into two parties: (*a*) The advocates of pure force and no nonsense; (*b*) The liberals who trot out the plea of trusteeship by convincing the 'wards' inside, and the world outside, that the people are unfit to rule themselves, and that the best interests of the ruled themselves demand a never-ending continuance of the trusteeship. Certain theoretical conditions are laid down, the fulfilment of which might lead to the ending of the period of trusteeship, but the actual policy is directed to check and prevent the fulfilment of these conditions, and thus a vicious circle is created by which both the people affected and the world at large are deceived. Want of literacy, lack of social purity and social solidarity, the existence of depressed and suppressed classes, the low nature of private and public morality, and incapacity to build arms, to lead armies and to organise scientific defence, all these are trumped up as justifying a denial of freedom; every effort is at the same time made to perpetuate these disqualifications. The subject people are declared deficient in character, which alone is said to enable people to rule themselves, or to deal fairly as between one class and another. The lesson of their own domestic history or that of other peoples is clean forgotten by the ruling race, and great point is made of the so-called backward condition of the aspiring nation. It is declared from housetops that these people have got into the slough of slave-mentality: they hug their chains; they love

their ignorance; they adore their poverty; they are devoted to dirt, disease and distress; they are afraid of freedom, and they hate the classes which cry for liberty and raise the standard of revolt against established absolutism, entrenched foreign autocracy, and personified exploitation. Such is the curse of political subjection and economic bondage that the slaves themselves fail to recognize that the only way to develop a character for self-government and a free life is to break their chains and throw off the yoke. Such is the process of imperial hypnotism and of sophisticated, well-organised and well-planned propaganda that the subjects themselves, while disgusted with their chained life, are yet afraid of freedom. Thus things keep moving in a vicious circle until Nemesis overtakes all and starts a fresh chapter in history.

Every schoolboy knows that for ages Europe was plunged in barbarity, ignorance and bondage. When we say Europe, we mean the white races of the world—Europe and America, for America is only a child of Europe. The white races got their religion from Asia; arts and industries they copied from Egypt; moral standards they borrowed from India and Palestine. Whatever is really good and moral among the modern nations of the world is largely a gift of the East. According to some, even their blood is Asiatic in origin. Even casual students of history know that only three centuries back Asia ruled and dominated at least half of modern Europe. Alexander's were the only armies that ever met with victory in pre-Christian

Asia. They affected but a small part of Asia, and that also only for a short period of a few years. Alexander's raid was well recompensed by the raids and victories of the Huns, of Chengiz Khan and Timur, and then of the Moors and Turks. For centuries Russia, Turkey, Sicily, Spain and the Balkans were ruled and dominated by the Asiatics. Europe's dominance over Asia is not more than two centuries old. It virtually began with the conquest of India, and, God willing, will end with her emancipation. It is this fear which is the motive behind an unholy combination of all the white peoples of the earth against India's aspirations to political freedom. India is the crux of the problem of the clash of colour. India's freedom means the freedom of the whole coloured world. This explains the great popularity and success which Miss Katherine Mayo's book, *Mother India*, has gained throughout the West.

Miss Mayo's mentality is the mentality of the white races as a whole against the black or brown or yellow peoples of Asia. She is only the mouthpiece of the oppressors of the East. The awakening of the East has frightened both Europe and America. Hence this hysterical exhibition of temper, and this studied, deliberate, infamous propaganda against a race so ancient and so cultured.

II.

Miss Katherine Mayo is by her antecedents a tool of the Jingoes of America. She is a journalist whose only claim to authorship is a facile pen, a

familiarity with sensational catch-words and a habit of telling doubtful stories in a crackling style. Even a superficial reader can point out her ignorance of history, psychology and politics. Yet she is an able writer of sorts. Her first debut into the realm of authorship was made by the publication of a volume of her 'researches' into the condition of the Filipinos who have been knocking at the door of America for their promised freedom. The book was named *The Isles of Fear.* Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, sometime Editor of the Calcutta *Statesman*, and a famous English journalist, now popular in the U. S. A., by his lectures and contributions to the American Press, tells us in the course of his review of *Mother India* (published in the New York, *New Republic*):

"Two years ago, when I read Katherine Mayo's propagandist volume on the Philippines, it seemed to me certain that she would go next to India and produce a book enforcing a conclusion precisely similar to the one reiterated in *The Isles of Fear.* The thesis of that vigorous manifesto, it will be remembered, is that the United States must keep its governing hand upon the archipelago, for, if it did not, the Filipinos would be skinned alive by their own landlords, lawyers, usurpers."

We have reason to believe that Miss Mayo's visit to India was not a spontaneous one, and that she was urged to come to India by those Britishers with vested interests, who think that the development of self-government in India is a menance to

them and their pockets. Obviously we can have no direct evidence in support of this allegation. But of strong circumstantial evidence there is no dearth. Mr. Lionel Curtis is one of those 'progressive' gentlemen who are interested in the integrity and prosperity of the British Empire. He is a member of the Round Table Group in Great Britain. This Group is vitally interested in the problems of the Empire, and its members devote their time and energy to bringing the different parts of the Empire together and to making them understand each other better. The Empire, however, for which they stand is a 'Commonwealth of Nations' in which the white, British as well as Colonial, shall rule and exploit the 'natives.' Mr. Curtis visited India in 1916-17—about the time of the famous pronouncement of Mr. Montague in August 1917, in the House of Commons, pledging the word of Great Britain to grant self-government to India in progressive stages. Mr. Montague came to India to study the situation and to report to Parliament how best to give effect to that pledge. Mr. Lionel Curtis also made somewhat similar professions. While the Secretary of State tried to give something, it was the Round Table knight's concern to see that little was given, and even that little rendered ineffective. He entered into a conspiracy with two eminent Britishers of the Indian Civil Service, members of the Round Table Group, both in charge of high offices in one of the provinces of India. The object of this conspiracy was to give a voice and share to the white Dominions of Great Britain in determining the

future of India and to strengthen the chains with which she was bound down for the glorification of the Empire. One of the documents which contained the infamous story of this conspiracy fell by chance into the hands of Mr. Gandhi, and he made it public. Mr. Curtis was caught red-handed, and had to explain away the Round Table circular as a private letter to 'intimate friends.' By repute he and his fellow-conspirators of the Indian Civil Service were the authors of dyarchy and such other features of the Montague-Chelmsford Report as have been the bane of the Reforms Act of 1919.

In August 1925 Mr. Curtis happened to be in Massachusetts, U. S. A. He met Miss Katherine Mayo, and was at once so much enamoured of her production, *The Isles of Fear*, that he wrote a foreword for the English edition of that book. The language of the foreword makes it highly probable that Mr. Curtis—even if he did not find the money for Miss Mayo's expensive voyage to India—had something to do with the idea that Miss Mayo's Philippine work be followed by a visit to India with similar motives and aims. Said Mr. Curtis in the foreword:*

"The British Government is responsible for more dependencies than all the other nations put together. Our experience is centuries old. [May we ask how many centuries old, as the beginning of the British Empire in Asia is not even full two centuries old?] we can hardly afford to ignore

* *The Isles of Fear*, (London : Faber and Gwyer) pp. ix–xii.

the experience of others, especially that of the young light-hearted masters of the West... In discussing the Indian or Colonial estimates a Minister might well be expected to show Parliament that he knew how American or Dutch administrators were handling analogous problems in the Philippines or Java. In 1917 the policy pursued by America in the Philippines was a commonplace of nationalist propaganda in India. In the following year when retiring from the Indian Government, Sir W. Meyer visited the Philippines, but if he reported on American methods the fact has never been disclosed by the India Office."

In the following paragraph Mr. Curtis makes it clear how valuable Miss Mayo's book on the Philippine Islands could be to the English administrators of India:

"The Jones Law passed by the American Congress in 1916 transferred the control of legislation and supply to a legislature answerable to Philippine electorate, while leaving the executive power to a governor responsible to the President of the U. S. A. A system, the close equivalent of the Jones Law was the only alternative to that embodied in the constitution which was given to India in 1920. For this reason alone the operation of the Jones Law in the Philippines deserves to be studied by observers who bring to their task an adequate knowledge of Indian conditions. I commend this book to English readers in the hope of provoking such enquiries."

Mr. Curtis is conscious that 'Miss Mayo's account of the results which have followed the American attempt to "hasten" self-government in the Philippines will probably be used to discredit the policy applied to India in the pronouncement of 1917.'

Miss Mayo protests that she has written the book only for the use of her own people, but she has not yet told us of what use a wholesale denunciation of the Indian people could be to the people of the United States, unless it was the same kind of use for which Mr. Curtis recommended *The Isles of Fear* to the British-Indian administrators.

Anyhow we are justified in concluding that in August 1925 there was some kind of mutual discussion and understanding between Mr. L. Curtis, the champion of British imperialism, and Miss Mayo, the author of *The Isles of Fear*, which led to Miss Mayo's visit to the India Office, *en route* to India 'early in October 1925.' Who introduced her to the authorities of the India Office? Who persuaded the latter to give her introductions to her for use in India? These are questions that Mr. Curtis may answer for the benefit of the curious if he chooses. Be that as it may, Miss Mayo 'called at the India Office' 'early in October 1925.' The good people of the India Office asked her, "What would you like us to do for you?" She answered:

"Nothing, except to believe what I say. A foreign stranger prying about India, not studying

ancient architecture, not seeking philosophers or poets, not even hunting big game, and commissioned by no one, anywhere, may seem a queer figure. Especially if that stranger develops an acute tendency to ask questions. I should like to be accepted that I am neither an idle busybody nor a political agent, but merely an ordinary American citizen seeking test facts to lay before my own people."

On her own admission the India Office were not slow to give introductions.

This sounds suspicious enough. But here are a few further facts that I found out on enquiry. Miss Mayo was the guest of a member of the Government of India and his wife during her stay at Delhi in the winter of 1926. She was a guest at least at one Government House in India. The Home Member of the Government of India has admitted in the Legislative Assembly that the government officials in India did give her help and showed her courtesies,—though he contends these were not different from those that are given or shown to other publicists or visitors. This statement cannot be accepted at its face value when we find Miss Mayo admitting that sometimes she accompanied 'a District Commissioner on his tours of chequered duty,' sometimes she 'sat in' 'at village councils of peasants, or at an Indian Municipal Board meeting.' How could an American woman, an utter stranger to the country, absolutely ignorant of its many vernaculars, 'sit in' at the village councils of peasants,

unless she was taken to these (probably pre-arranged) councils by English-speaking Indian officials deputed by higher officers?

Miss Mayo was at the India Office in London in October 1925. In her foreword she gives no date or year to show when she completed her manuscripts. Inside the title sheet of the American edition 'May 1927' is given as the month when it was first printed. From October 1925 to May 1927, exclusive of both months, the total period which Miss Mayo spent on this book (from the date of her starting for India to the date of the first publication of her book) seems not to have exceeded 18 months. And during this period we must understand she toured in India from the North-Western Frontier Province to Madras, visited many towns and villages, studied the history of the various communities and their social, industrial and political life. She visited homes and hospitals and discussed metaphysics and philosophic outlooks on life. She managed to include in this stupendous task printed debates of the nine provincial councils, the two chambers of the Indian legislature, the blue books and reports of the numerous government departments of all the provinces quite extending over a period of two decades. This period of 18 months includes the voyage back to America and the writing and printing of the book. Has any writer ever performed such a feat in such a short time single-handed?

To some these facts would be a conclusive proof of Miss Mayo's coming to India through

some agency of Anglo-Indians, official and non-official, who wanted her to write a book of the kind she had written about the Philippines in 1924. For our more sceptical readers we shall add—

1. That her book was first boomed in the British Isles by the leading Tory organs which had been agitating against the advanced Indian political parties and their claims for Swaraj.

2. That the chief of these Tory papers, The London *Times*, refused to give publicity to an important letter* of protest, signed by almost all the influential Indians, officials and non-officials, then present in London. The letter ran—

" Our attention has been drawn to the recent publication, entitled *Mother India*, by an American tourist, Miss Kaherine Mayo, who paid a visit to India during the cold weather of 1925-26. It has never been our lot to read a book which indulges in such a wholesale, indiscriminate vilification of Indian civilization and Indian character.

*The letter was signed by Sir A. C. Chatterjee, High Commissioner for India; Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, ex-Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council; Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, ex-Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay; Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, ex-Member of th- Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa; Sir M. M. Bhowanagree; Mr. Dube, Barrister-at-Law, practising before His Majesty's Privy Council; Mr. Kamat, Member of the Royal Commission for Agriculture; and all the Indian Members of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, namely, Sir Mahomed Rafique, Mr. S. N. Mullick and Dr. Pranjpaye. The *Times* refused to publish this letter although it was an important statement by prominent people. Reuter's propagandist news service gave it absolutely no publicity.

"We concede that like other cold weather tourists, Miss Mayo was entitled to form and express her own opinions. But when a foreigner, who spends not more than a few months in our country, uses the material gleaned from hospital cases, culled from criminal trial reports and deduced from her own observation of isolated happenings, and seeks to fortify herself with quotations divorced from context, and then proceeds on such slender basis to formulate a general indictment against the character and culture of a great country like India, possessed of an ancient civilization, it is time that we protested.

'She depicts the entire nation of 320 million people as physical degenerates, moral perverts and unabashed liars. If an Indian could have the temerity to pass a similar judgment on any nation of the West, after but a few months' residence in any country in Europe or America, and to indict the Western people, their civilization and character on the strength of the reports of sensational cases and crimes, moral perversions and physical degeneracy as evidenced by the proceedings of the courts, hospital and personal experiences, official reports, newspaper paragraphs and other special instances he would be rightly condemned as unworthy of serious attention...

'We should not have felt called upon to take any public notice of a book of this character, but when we find that the publication is receiving serious attention of the British Press to the obvious detriment of India, at this juncture, we think it

our duty to warn the British public against what strikes us as being a singularly mischievous book."

3. That the book has been distributed free both in Great Britain and America. The Rt. Hon. Col. Wedgwood, M.P., received three copies—all free. It is only propaganda books that are supplied gratis so generously.

II.

In the last section I quoted a letter which a number of responsible Indians sent to The London *Times* in August 1927 when Miss Mayo's book was being boomed by the benevolent British Press. Three of the signatories were members of the India Council at Whitehall (two Hindus and one Mussalman). They had, before their appointment to their present offices, held high offices in India. One had been the Judge of a High Court established by Royal Charter; another a Minister of Education to the Government of Bombay. Two of the other Indians had been Executive Councillors of the Government of India and one of the Government of Bombay. One of them is at present holding the exalted office of the High Commissioner of India in London; and so on. Their opinion on *Mother India* is weighty. They cannot be brushed aside as mere agitators or men of no position. It would not be a compliment to the Government of India to say that the opinion of these eminent gentlemen who had held such high offices under the Government, is false or untrustworthy.

Now I propose to refer to the opinion of one whom a great American Christian leader has compared with Christ, and whom several Westerners have characterized as the greatest man of the age. I mean Mahatma Gandhi. In the course of a signed article in his own weekly, *Young India*, under the caption 'Drain Inspector's Report,' Mahatma Gandhi made the following remarks about this book:

"The book is cleverly and powerfully written. The carefully chosen quotations give it the appearance of a truthful book, but the impression it leaves on my mind is that it is the report of a drain inspector sent out with the one purpose of opening and examining the drains of the country to be reported upon or to give a graphic description of the stench exuded by the open drains. If Miss Mayo had confessed that she had gone to India merely to open out and examine the drains of India, there would perhaps be little to complain about her compilation...

'I feel that no one who has any knowledge of India can possibly accept her terrible accusations against the thought and the life of the people of this unhappy country. *The book is without doubt untruthful, be the facts stated ever so truthful.* If I open out and describe with punctilious care all the stench exuded from the drains of London and say, 'Behold London,' my facts will be incapable of challenge, but my judgment will be rightly condemned as a travesty of truth. Miss Mayo's book is nothing better, nothing else. The authoress

says she was dissatisfied with the literature she read about India and so she came to India 'to see what a volunteer unsubsidized, uncommitted and unattached could observe of common things in daily human life.'

'After having read the book with great attention, I regret to say that I find it difficult to accept this claim. Unsubsidized she may be. Uncommitted and unattached she certainly fails to show herself in any page. We in India are accustomed to interested publications patronized —'patronized' is accepted as an elegant synonym for 'subsidized'—by the Government. We have become used to understanding from pre-British days, that the art (perfected by the British) of government includes the harnessing of the secret services of men learned, and reported to be honest and honourable for shadowing suspects and for writing up the virtues of the Government of the day as if the certificate had come from disinterested quarters. I hope that Miss Mayo will not take offence if she comes under the shadow of such suspicion...

'[*Mother India*] is doubly untruthful. It is untruthful in that she condemns a whole nation, or in her words 'the peoples of India' (she will not have us as one nation), practically without any reservation, as to their sanitation, morals, religion, etc. It is also untruthful because she claims for the British Government merits which cannot be sustained and which many an honest British officer would blush to see the Government credited *with*...

'Miss Mayo is an avowed Indophobe and Anglophil, refusing to see anything good about Indians and anything bad about the British and their rule...

'Nor are all the authoress's quotations or isolated facts truthfully stated. I propose to pick up those I have personal knowledge of. The book bristles with quotations torn from their context and with extracts which have been authoritatively challenged.

'The authoress has violated all sense of propriety by associating the Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore's name with child-marriage. The Poet has indeed referred to early marriage as not an undesirable institution. But there is a world of difference between child-marriage and early marriage. If she had taken the trouble of making the acquaintance of the free and freedom-loving girls and women of Shantiniketan she would have known the Poet's meaning of early marriage.

'She has done me the honour of quoting me frequently in support of her argument. Any person who collects extracts from a reformer's diary, tears them from their context, and proceeds to condemn, on the strength of these, the people in whose midst the reformer has worked, would get no hearing from sane and unbiased readers or hearers.

'But in her hurry to see everything Indian in a bad light she has not only taken liberty with my writings but she has not thought it necessary even

to verify through me certain things ascribed by her or others to me...

'The nineteenth chapter is a collection of authorities in praise of the achievements of the British Government, almost every one of which has been repeatedly challenged both by English and Indian writers of unimpeachable integrity. The seventeenth chapter is written to show that we are a 'world menace.' If as a result of Miss Mayo's effort the League of Nations is moved to declare India a segregated country unfit for exploitation, I have no doubt both the West and the East would be the gainers. We may then have our internecine wars. Hindus may be eaten up, as she threatens, by the hordes from the North-West and Central Asia—that were a position infinitely superior to one of evergrowing emasculation. Even as electrocution is a humaner method of killing than the horrid method of roasting alive, so would a sudden overwhelming swoop from Central Asia upon the unresisting, insanitary, superstitious, and sexuality-ridden Hindus, as Miss Mayo describes us to be, be a humane deliverance from the living and ignominious death which we are going through at the present moment. Unfortunately, however, such is not Miss Mayo's goal. Her case is to perpetuate white domination in India on the plea of India's unfitness to rule herself...

'The picturesque statements that this clever authoress puts into the mouths of the various characters read like so many pages from a sensa-

tional novel in which no regard has to be paid to truth. Many of her statements seem to me to be utterly unworthy of belief and do not put the men and women to whom they are ascribed in a favourable light. Take for instance this statement put into the mouth of a prince:

' "Our treaties are with the Crown of England," one of them said to me, with incisive calm. "The princes of India made no treaty with a Government that included Bengali *babus*. We shall never deal with this new lot of Jacks-in-office. While Britain stays, Britain will send us English gentlemen to speak for the King-Emperor, and all will be as it should be between friends. If Britain leaves, we, the princes, will know how to straighten out India, even as princes should." '*

' However fallen Indian princes may be, I should want unimpeachable evidence before I could believe that there can be in India a prince so degraded as to make such a statement. Needless to say, the authoress does not give the name of the prince.

' A still more scandalous statement occurs on page 314 and reads as follows:

' "His Highness does not believe," said the Dewan, "that Britain is going to leave India. But still, under this new regime in England, they may be so ill-advised. So His Highness is getting his troops in shape, accumulating munitions and coining silver. And if the English do go, three

* *Mother India*, p. 316 (Amer. Edition).

months afterward, not a rupee or a virgin will be left in all Bengal."

'The reader is kept in darkness as to the name of His Highness or of the enlightened Dewan.

'I should be sorry indeed to think that there are many Englishmen and Englishwomen who say one thing to their Indian friends and another to their Western confidants. Those Englishmen and Englishwomen who may chance to read the sweepings gathered together by Miss Mayo with her muck-rake will recognize the statements I have in mind. In seeking to see an India degraded Miss Mayo has unconsciously degraded the characters whom she has used as her instruments for proving her facts, which she boasts cannot be 'disproved or shaken.' I hope I have given sufficient *prima facie* proof in this article to show that many of her facts stand disproved even in isolation. Put together they give a wholly false picture...

'I do not remember having given the message Miss Mayo imputes to me. The only one present who took any notes at all has no recollection of the message imputed to me. But I do know what message I give every American who comes to see me: "Do not believe newspapers and the catchy literature you get in America. But if you want to know anything about India go to India as students, study India for yourself. If you cannot go, make a study of all that is written about India, for her and against her, and then form your own conclusions. The ordinary literature you get is

either exaggerated vilification of India or exaggerated praise." I warn Americans and Englishmen against copying Miss Mayo. She came not with an open mind as she claims, but with her preconceived notions and prejudices, which she betrays on every page, not excluding even the introductory chapter in which she recites the claim."

I have given these copious extracts from Mahatma Gandhi as by common consent he is accepted to be the greatest, the most saintly and the most truthful of all the living Indians. Miss Mayo may not consider him saintly enough to compete with the Indian Civil Servants or the Christian missionaries working in India, as she insinuates in one of the interviews she gave to a Press reporter. But her estimate of Gandhi is in line with the relative estimates of Indians and Westerners made in her book. Next to Mahatma Gandhi the two other Indians who enjoy such international fame as is unique for the sons of an Asiatic and subjugated country are the poet, Rabindranath Tagore (knighted by the British Government and doctored by its universities), a winner of the Nobel Prize, and Dr. Sir J. C. Bose, F.R.S., the great scientist.

Tagore has expressed his opinion of the book on two occasions—(*a*) in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, (b) in a letter to *The Nation*, New York. Elsewhere we give extracts from both.

Dr. Bose calls it a filthy book not worthy of attention.

In the Appendix to this book we are putting together the opinions some prominent people, who know India much better than Miss Mayo, have expressed about *Mother India*. Rabindranath Tagore accuses her of 'deliberately untruthful irresponsibility' in handling his writings. The late Lord Sinha, the only Indian ever appointed as Governor of a province, entirely agrees with Mr. Gandhi that 'Miss Mayo has had a good sniff at all the filthy drains of India.' He calls her book 'a lie, and a false picture.' The Executive Committee of the National Christian Council of India, which is presided over by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, asserts that 'the picture of India which emerges from Miss Mayo's book is untrue to the facts and unjust to the people of India.' Eminent foreigners who know India intimately have condemned the book in strong terms. Mr. Edward Thompson, novelist and playwright, author of *An Indian Day*, calls *Mother India* 'one long nagging,' and expresses the opinion that Miss Mayo lost her case 'when she wove into it a bitter conviction that the white man's rule is so overwhelmingly good for inferior breeds that it is only wickedness that makes them dissatisfied.' Sir John Maynard, retired Executive Councillor, finds it hard to write with restraint about Miss Mayo's book. Col. Wedgwood, M.P., writing (in the *Hindu Annual*, 1927) of Miss Mayo's generalizations about sex life in India says:

"It has always been the habit of civilized peoples to attribute to neighbours whom they

feared and hated just those vices which were unpopular. In that way contempt could take the place of fear. The Germans said of the French that they were exhausted by sexual excesses,—only they put it more shortly. In the time of the Crusades all followers of the 'false Mahound' were addicted to unnatural vice; so were the Bulgarians or the Albigenses, when Christianity had to be worked up against them. French medieval dislike of the raiding English led them to speak of us as 'tailed monkeys,' though that particular form of sexual perversion is one from which we are exceptionally free."

The reader will find the opinions of several other people about *Mother India* in the Appendix.

III.

While dealing with Hindu life, customs and manners, Hindu religion and Hindu philosophy, Miss Mayo has chiefly relied on the authority of the Abbé Dubois and has quoted from his book on these subjects profusely. It seems proper, therefore, to deal with the authority of the Abbé once for all in this place and to point out what value can be attached to his opinions and comments.

Dubois was a Jesuit missionary. A refugee from the French Revolution, he came and settled down in India. There is reason to believe that all the time he lived among the Hindus he posed as a Brahman. There is also reason to believe that he was 'a Tamil, far more than a Sanskrit,

scholar,'*—which is a polite way of saying that he was not much of a Sanskrit scholar. His opinions about Hindu religion and Hindu learning are not of much value. European knowledge of Hindu literature and religion in Dubois's days was extremely limited. Since then much that is of great scientific value has been discovered and made known, and Western scholars have written a great deal about Hindu religion, Hindu philosophy and Hindu law. The investigations of Western scholars are now being supplemented by Indian savants. Max Müller, Deussen, Welkins, Rapson, Colebrook, Sir William Jones, Lanman, Macdonnel, Keith, Foucher, Sylvian Levi and a host of others among the Europeans; Jayaswal, B. N. Seal, R. G. Bhandarkar, Sarkar, R. L. Mitter, and a host of others among the Indians, are far better authorities on these subjects than the Abbé Dubois. Miss Mayo does not know any one of them. She does not refer to their writings and opinions. She relies almost exclusively on M. Dubois, whose knowledge was gleaned mostly from what translations of Sanskrit works into European languages existed then. About his personal observations also it should not be forgotten that he lived the whole of the time he spent in India in that part of the Deccan which is situated south of the Kistna. The editor of the Oxford edition of his work remarks :*

" At the same time he [Dubois] disclaims for his work any general applicability to the whole of

*Page iv of the *Introduction* to the Oxford edition of Dubois's book.

**Ibid.*, p. xiii.

India. His observations extend, broadly speaking, to the India that lies south of the Vindhyan range; and even within those limits he is careful to remark that local differences are so many and so marked that there is no class or sect or community of Hindus that has not, in addition to the general rules of Hindu society, some domestic usages peculiar to itself. So that, as he says, it is impossible to generalize with complete accuracy on any subject connected with them."

Mr. K. Nataranjan, Editor of *The Indian Social Reformer*, who is himself an advanced social reformer, remarks in the course of a series of articles on Miss Mayo's book published in his weekly:*

" [The Abbé] was an impostor from first to last.... 'I had no sooner arrived among the natives of India,' he writes, 'than I recognised the absolute necessity of gaining their confidence. Accordingly I made it my constant rule to live as they did. I adopted their style of clothing, and I studied their customs and methods of life in order to be exactly like them. I even went so far as to avoid any display of repugnance to the majority of their peculiar prejudices. By such circumspect conduct I was able to ensure a free and hearty welcome from people of all castes and conditions, and was often favoured of their own accord with the most curious and interesting particulars about themselves.'† Notwithstanding all this camouflage, the Abbé's

* Mr. Nataranjan's articles have been published as a book by Messrs. Natesan & Co., Madras.

†Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

work as a Christian missionary was, on his own admission, a humiliating failure. 'The restraints and privations under which I have lived,' he wrote, 'by conforming myself to the usages of the country; embracing, in many respects, the prejudices of the natives; living like them, and becoming all but a Hindu myself; in short by being *made all things to all men that I might by all means save some*—all these have proved of no avail to me to make proselytes. During the long period I have lived in India, in the capacity of a missionary, I have made, with the assistance of a native missionary, in all between two and three hundred converts of both sexes. Of this number two-thirds were pariahs or beggars; and the rest were composed of Sudras, vagrants, outcastes of several tribes, who being without resource turned Christian in order to form connections, chiefly for the purpose of marriage, or with some other interested views.'* The Abbé, foiled in his missionary work, thought of serving Christianity in another way. He writes: †

"There is one motive which above all others has influenced my determination [to write the book]. It struck me that a faithful picture of the wickedness and incongruities of polytheism and idolatry would by its very ugliness help greatly to set off the beauties and perfections of Christianity. It was thus that the Lacedæmonians placed drunken slaves in the sight of their children in

* Editor's Introduction to 3rd (Oxford) edition of Dubois's book, pp. xxvi, xxvii.

† *Ibid.*, Author's Preface, p. 9.

order to inspire the latter with a horror of intemperance.' "

No reader of Miss Mayo's book can afford to forget these admissions which altogether vitiate the conclusions in Dubois's book as well as that of its new version called *Mother India.*

The code by which the Jesuit missionaries in India went may be judged from the fact that one of Dubois's predecessors, the great missionary, Robert de Nobili (seventeenth century), who also, like Dubois, worked in the southern presidency, and anticipated his methods by simulating the Brahman mode of life, and even wearing the sacred thread, ' went so far as to forge a fifth Veda in Sanskrit and to insert into it Christian truths.'*

Mr. Nataranjan draws attention to a few more facts about the Abbé:

" The period during which the Abbé lived in India was also the period of greatest rivalry between the British and the French. The fact that the Abbé retired with a pension from the British East India Company ' in recognition of many services he had rendered to India' may be regarded either as a testimony to the disinterested generosity of the East India Company, or to the judicious patriotism of the Abbé himself."

The Abbé stands convicted out of his own mouth. Mr. Nataranjan pertinently asks:

" Suppose a Hindu were to spend some years in the United States with a like motive to produce

* *Indian Problems*, Bishop Whitehead: (Constable), p. 172.

a faithful picture of the wickedness and incongruities of Mammon-worship so that by its very ugliness it may help greatly to set off the beauties and perfections of the Vedanta, no serious student of American culture and civilization would think of relying on him as an authority on the subject. The Abbé's book is the last source to which any foreigner, after reading this candid avowal, should look for a true and faithful account of Hindu manners and customs."

It is not only the personal history of the Abbé, but also that of his book that is relevant here. I shall let the reader have it in Mr. Nataranjan's language:

"Even such a hostile witness as the Abbé Dubois is obliged to admit that Hindu women were treated with the greatest consideration, at least in public. In the first translation of his work published in 1817 by the East India Company occurred the following passage:

'But, degraded as the Hindu women are in private life, it must be admitted that they receive the highest respect in public. They certainly do not pay them those flat and frivolous compliments which are used amongst us, and which are the disgrace of both sexes; but, on the other hand, they have no insults to dread. A woman may go wheresoever she pleases; she may walk in the most public places (must I except those where the Europeans abound?) and have nothing to fear from libertines numerous as they are in the country. A man who should stop to gaze on a

woman in the street, or elsewhere, would be universally hooted as an insolent and a most low-bred fellow.*

'*In the revised version from which the late Mr. Beauchamp made the present translation in 1897, and from the third edition of which Miss Mayo makes her citations, the uncomplimentary reflections on contemporary European manners are carefully omitted.* The passage is recast as under:

"But if women enjoy very little consideration in private life, they are in some degree compensated by the respect which is paid to them in public. They do not, it is true, receive those insipid compliments which we have agreed to consider polite; but then, on the other hand, they are safe from the risk of insult. A Hindu woman can go anywhere alone, even in the most crowded places, and she need never fear the impertinent looks and jokes of idle loungers. This appears to me to be really remarkable in a country where the moral depravity of inhabitants is carried to such lengths. A house inhabited solely by women is a sanctuary which the most shameless libertine would not dream of violating."*

Miss Mayo, while busy muck-raking from Dubois's book, carefully omitted to note his opinion when she made the assertion that no Hindu woman of child-bearing age could venture

* Abbe Dubois's book, 1817 edition, p. 220.

† 3rd Oxford edition, pp. 339-340.

within reach of Indian men. Here she forgot to consult her Dubois.

To Dubois's propagandist unscrupulousness Miss Mayo adds cleverness in handling quotations. Referring to the way she cites Dubois's authority in season and out of season, Mr. Nataranjan very rightly remarks :

" The deliberate disingenuousness of Miss Katherine Mayo is clear from the fact that in all her several references to the Abbé Dubois's book, she not once tells the reader that *the manuscript of the book was submitted to the East India Company in 1807*, and that the account in it relates to a period separated from our time by a century and a quarter. In one place at least she implies that the account relates to a period not very remote from ours. We refer to her statement that the Abbé found ' this ancient law [relating to the behaviour of a wife towards her husband] *still the code of nineteenth century Hinduism*,'* while the greater part of the Abbé's Indian career belongs to the eighteenth century. It may be nothing to Miss Katherine Mayo to skip over a century in order to achieve her purpose of blackening the Hindus in the eyes of the world, but one might ask what the position of women and social condition were generally in Europe, or even in Miss Mayo's own country, a hundred years ago. But comparisons are odious." [Italics are ours.]

For another instance of Miss Mayo's 'caution' in handling even her fellow Hindu-phobe, Dubois,

* *Mother India*, p. 74.

the reader may compare her quotation from the Abbé's book regarding learning among the Hindus. Thus she quotes:

"'[The Brahmans] saw well enough,' says Dubois, 'what a moral ascendency knowledge would give them over the other castes, and they therefore made a mystery of it by taking all possible precautions to prevent other classes from obtaining access to it.'"

The first two sentences of the paragraph from which this quotation is taken have been omitted as they credit the Hindus with having cultivated learning from the earliest time and the Brahmans with having 'always been as it were its depositories.'†

Miss Mayo evidently did not want to let this kind of 'damaging' statement to go in her book. The excerpt reproduced above is followed by another quotation from Dubois, which in Miss Mayo's book reads thus:

"'I do not believe that Brahmans of modern times are, in any degree, more learned than their ancestors of the time of Lycurgus and Pythagoras. During this long space of time, many barbarous races have emerged from the darkness of ignorance, have attained the summit of civilization, and have extended their intellectual researches...yet all this time the Hindus have been perfectly stationary. We do not find amongst them any trace of mental or moral improvement,

† Oxford edition, p. 376.

any sign of advance in the arts and sciences. Every impartial observer must, indeed, admit that they are now very far behind the peoples who inscribed their names long after them on the roll of civilized nations.' "

The words omitted, marked by dots, have perhaps been deleted because they would have shown that Dubois was very much lacking in the habit of exactitude. In the original the sentence reads, ' have extended their intellectual researches almost to *the utmost limits of human intelligence.*'

While on this subject I would like to give some more instances of Miss Mayo's dishonest use of quotation marks, and her lack of scruples in ascribing statements to people she met in India. Her usual method is to omit names—' one whose veracity cannot be questioned,' 'a Mussalman landlord,' ' a lawyer,' ' a prince ' come in as anonymous witnesses. But the few cases in which she does mention names are quite enough to let us judge her general standard of honesty and veracity.

I have taken some pains to investigate as to how she has reported or quoted other people, and my investigation has lent strong support to the charges I have made against Miss Mayo in the above paragraph.

The Rajah of Panagal happens to be among those quoted in *Mother India* by name.* Here is what he tells me about the statements ascribed to him by Miss Mayo:

*Page 165.

" Your letter of the 13th instant to hand. Miss Mayo is not accurate in reproducing my replies. The language used in the dialogue is, I think, her own. I wrote to you in my last letter what, to the best of my recollection, I told her."

The 'last letter' referred to reads:

" When Miss Mayo was at the Government House in Madras I had an occasion to meet her. On that occasion I remember having stated in reply to her questions that the present deplorable state of illiteracy in this Province is in some measure due to the superstitious ideas prevailing among the masses, and that according to Varnashrama Dharma the lower classes, who form the bulk of the population, could not take to literary pursuits. I told her too that even to this day sections of people are precluded from being admitted to Hindu schools, particularly to schools where Sanskrit and Shastras are taught; that non-Brahmans are enjoined by Smritis to avoid even listening to the recitation of Vedas, the punishment for disobedience to the injunction being to have the ears of the listeners filled with molten lead; and that after the British association with the administration and the broadcasting of higher education in the country the superstitions regarding Varnashrama Dharma are gradually losing ground, with the result that the non-Brahman classes do not now hesitate to take advantage of the existence of the various schools and colleges."

Another story about which I made some investigation is that found on page 319 of *Mother India*. Says Miss Mayo:

" Then I recall a little party given in Delhi by an Indian friend in order that I might privately hear the opinions of certain Home Rule politicians. Most of the guests were, like my host, Bengali Hindus belonging to the Western educated professional class. They had spoken at length on the coming expulsion of Britain from India and on the future in which they themselves would rule the land. 'And what,' I asked, 'is your plan for the princes?' 'We shall wipe them out!' exclaimed one with conviction, and all the rest nodded assent."

In the absence of any names it was not easy to get a clue for verification. But from enquiries from all the possible people who could have arranged such a party or who could have attended it, I learn that Mr. K. C. Roy of the Associated Press arranged a lunch to which a number of Indian gentlemen were invited. The only other *Bengali* present was Mr. Sen, Mr. K. C. Roy's assistant. Mr. K. C. Roy has assured me that Miss Mayo's story of what transpired at the meeting (if she really refers to that party) is absolutely untrue. Mrs. K. C. Roy in a letter to me writes:

" We gave a luncheon party to Miss Mayo at Maiden's Hotel, Delhi, during her short stay in the Capital. She came to us with excellent introductions. At the lunch there were only two Bengalis, namely, my husband and Mr. Sen. All the others were non-Bengalis. Prominent among our guests were Mr. M. A. Jinnah, leader of the Independent Party and Mr. S. Chetty. As I can recollect, the discussion ran on Indian constitutional develop-

ment, her defence, communal harmony, child-welfare, and art and culture in Delhi. I do not recollect whether the position of the Indian princes was discussed. At any rate, I know that there was no discussion as to their being ' wiped out.' "

To both Gandhi and Tagore Miss Mayo has ascribed opinions regarding physicians and surgeons that they protest are not theirs. No wonder Gandhi should be impelled to say in his comment on her method:

"But in her hurry to see everything Indian in a bad light, she has not only taken liberty with my writings, but she has not thought it necessary even to verify through me certain things ascribed by her or others to me. In fact she has combined in her own person, what we understand in India, the judical and the executive officer. She is both the prosecutor and the judge."

Take the following statement made by Miss Mayo about the operation on M. Gandhi while he was in prison. Mark the inverted commas:

" As he happened to be in the prison at the time, a British surgeon of the Indian Medical Service came straightaway to see him. ' Mr. Gandhi,' said the surgeon, as the incident was then reported, ' I am sorry to tell you that you have appendicitis. If you were my patient, I should operate at once. But you will probably prefer to call in your Ayurvedic physician.' "

" Mr. Gandhi proved otherwise minded.

" ' I should prefer not to operate,' pursued the surgeon, because in case the outcome should be unfortunate, all your friends will lay it as a charge of malicious intent against us, whose duty is to care for you.'

" ' If you will only consent to operate,' pleaded Mr. Gandhi, ' I will call in my friends now, and explain to them that you do so at my request.'

" So Mr. Gandhi wilfully went to an ' institution for propagating sin,' was operated upon by one of the ' worst of all,' an officer of the Indian Medical Service, and was attentively nursed through convalescence by an English sister whom he is understood to have thought after all rather a ' useful sort of person.' "

Gandhiji comments on this:

" This is a travesty of truth. I shall confine myself to correcting only what is libellous and not the other inaccuracies. There was no question here of calling in any Ayurvedic physician. Col. Maddock, who performed the operation, had the right, if he had so chosen, to perform the operation without a reference to me, and even in spite of me. But he and Surgeon-General Hooten showed a delicate consideration to me and asked me whether I would wait for my own doctors, who were known to them and who were also trained in the Western medicine and surgical science. I would not be behind-hand in returning their courtesy and consideration, and I immediately told them that they could perform the operation without waiting for my doctors whom they had telegraphed, and that

I would gladly give them a note for their protection in the event of the operation miscarrying. I endeavoured to show that I had no distrust either in their ability or their good faith. It was to me a happy opportunity of demonstrating my personal goodwill."

Miss Bose, Principal of the Lahore Victoria School, has likewise protested against the distorted version in *Mother India* of the talk Miss Mayo had with her. Miss Bose was interviewed by the Rev. H. A. Popley about the statements ascribed to her by Miss Mayo. Here is what the Rev. Popley writes in the *Indian Witness*, a Methodist weekly published at Lucknow:

"On pages 132 and 133 she gives an account of the Victoria School, Lahore, and quotes, in inverted commas, statements of the Principal, Miss Bose. I have consulted this lady and find that a great many of the things printed in inverted commas were never spoken. Further, Miss Bose is not of the third generation of an Indian Christian family. The statement, in para third of that page (132), in regard to lower caste children is not accurate and was never made. On the top of page 134 she says that male pandits have to teach behind a curtain. Miss Bose informs me that 'Hindu girls are always taught Sanskrit by male pandits without purdah, and that the statement in regard to the pandit of tottering age, *that used to be the case 40 years ago*. The third para on page 133 dealing with the aim of the school is quite inaccurate, says Miss Bose; and she adds 'sewing has

been an art among Indian women for ages', in reference to Miss Mayo's remark that 'sewing is almost unknown to most of the women of India.' The quotation in inverted commas, on the top of page 134, that 'their cooking in later life, they would never by nature do with their own hands, but would leave it entirely to filthy servants, whence come much sickness and death,' is entirely imaginary. Miss Bose says in reply to it, 'Cooking is done by ladies of every class, even when they have servants. Servants are not filthy in any good house, and certainly not in Hindu houses.'

"I have felt it necessary to deal with this rather extensively because it is a case which I have been able to investigate, and here we find an entire lack of appreciation for strict accuracy. It is most likely that in the innumerable quotations given without names the same inaccuracy would be found."

Miss Mayo makes some statements about the finances of the Victoria School to show that educated Indians are not prepared to spend anything on the education of their girls. The facts cited here by Miss Mayo have been challenged by Dewan Bahadur Kunj Behari Thapar, O.B.E., who is connected with the management of the Victoria School. I have reproduced Mr. Thapar's letter on page 209.

In a previous section we have quoted what Gandhi and Tagore have written about *Mother India*. Both of them have accused Miss Mayo of misquotation. Tagore, in any case, has been

quoted by her in a thoroughly dishonest way, and made to represent opinions he has never held. Here are some excerpts from Tagore's letter which appeared in the New York *Nation* of January 4, 1928 :

" I happen to be one of those whom the writer has specially honoured with her attention, and selected as a target for her midnight raid. Difficult though it is for me completely to defend myself from such a widespread range of mischief, I must try through your organ to reach the ears of at least some of my friends, who are on the other side of the Atlantic, and have, I hope, the chivalry to suspend their judgment about the veracity of these shocking statements made by a casual tourist against a whole people, before lightly believing them to be honourable.

' For my own defence, I shall use the following extract from a paper written by Mr. Natarajan, one of the most fearless critics of our social evils. He has incidentally dealt with the incriminating allegation against me, deliberately concocted by Miss Mayo out of a few sentences from my contribution to Keyserling's *Book of Marriage*—cleverly burgling away their true meaning and shaping them into an utterly false testimony for her own nefarious purpose. Mr. Natarajan writes as follows :

" 'Tagore sets forth his own ideal of marriage in five long pages at the end of his paper (Keyserling, pages 117 *et seq.*) 'Let me,' he says, 'as an individual Indian, offer in conclusion my own

personal contribution to the discussion of the marriage question generally.' He holds that the marriage system all over the world—and not only in India—from the earliest ages till now, is a barrier in the way of the true union of man and woman, which is possible only when ' society shall be able to offer a large field for the creative work of women's special faculty, without detracting from the creative work in the home.'

' If Miss Katherine Mayo was not a purblind propagandist but an honest enquirer, and if she had not the patience to read Tagore's essay, she might have asked any one in Calcutta what the age of marriage of girls is in Tagore's own family. That she was determined to discredit the poet is evident."

' Let me ask some of your readers to read my paper on Hindu marriage in Keyserling's book and challenge, in fairness to me, Miss Mayo to prove that it was my own opinion, as she asserts, that child-marriage is " a flower of the sublimated spirit, a conquest over sexuality and materialism won by exalted intellect for the eugenic uplift of the race," implying " the conviction, simply, that Indian women must be securely bound and delivered before their womanhood is upon them, if they are to be kept in hand."

' Let me in conclusion draw the attention of your readers to another amazing piece of false statement in which she introduces me, with a sneer, as a defender of the " Ayurvedic " system

of medicine against Western medical science. Let her prove this libel if she can.

'There are other numerous witnesses who, like myself, if they find their access to the Western readers, will be able to place their complaints before them, informing them how their views have been misinterpreted, their words mutilated, and facts tortured into a deformity which is worse than untruth.

SANTINIKETAN,
9 November, 1927.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

The Englishman, a Calcutta Anglo-Indian daily, publishes, in its issue of March 7, an appreciation of the late Lord Sinha written by Mr. N. N. Sircar, 'one of the leaders of the High Court Bar in Calcutta.' Mr. Sircar, we are told, 'was closely associated with Lord Sinha, and had an intimate knowledge of his activities and views.' Mr. Sircar's appreciation exposes yet another of Miss Mayo's lies; we are reproducing below the part relevant here:

"I refer to his [Sinha's] abhorrence of being in the limelight, and a deep-rooted objection to publicity of any matter in which he was concerned. In Miss Mayo's *Mother India*,...there is a chapter headed 'A Counsel of Perfection' (Ch. XVI. In this chapter Miss Mayo narrates a conversation with a 'Hindu nobleman who is an eminent lawyer,' and whose name Miss Mayo has not dis-

closed as 'it would be a graceless requital of courtesy to name the gentleman just quoted.'

" This Hindu lawyer is no other than Lord Sinha—a fact confirmed by him. It is known to some of his friends that the interview took place at 17, Elysium Row, Lord Sinha's residence.

'At this interview Lord Sinha is reported to have complained about the condition of villages in Bengal—and the inadequate attention paid to them by the Government. Lord Sinha, it is stated, said: 'But surely, they could have done more and faster. And they let my people starve.' Miss Mayo then proceeds to cover Lord Sinha with ridicule and sarcasm by stating that this wealthy man, 'with the income of an eminent lawyer of New York,' has done nothing for his village [Raipur] though it is 'but a comfortable afternoon's ride away from his home.'

'As Lord Sinha never cared to advertise himself, he did not care to inform Miss Mayo that the facts are that the pucca school building at Raipur has been constructed at Lord Sinha's expense, that both the village school and the village dispensary have always been maintained by him, and permanent provision has been made for them, that he paid Rs. 10,000 to the Agricultural Institute of his district, and that his acts of help and charity to his village and villagers have been too many to be mentioned.

'When Miss Mayo's book was published in London I happened to be there. Lord Sinha's

attention was drawn to the gross injustice done to him by Miss Mayo: in fact a contradiction for publication in the press had been drafted for him, but Lord Sinha refused permission for its issue."

This nails another lie to the counter.

IV.

The question of discussing European sex morality in this book has cost me many anxious nights. I have far greater respect for Miss Mayo's sex than she seems to have, irrespective of race, colour or caste. I believe that there is nothing so beautiful and so sacred as woman. Motherhood places her above everything else in this world and that is why motherhood is held in such high esteem in India. Ancient Hindus worshipped woman in different forms. Shakti (energy), Saraswati (learning), Lakshmi (wealth), Durga (motherhood), are all female deities. The mother, the wife, the sister, the daughter, each has a separate festival dedicated to her. I have no hesitation in admitting that Hindu society has fallen from its social ideals. In my judgment this is primarily a reflection of political bondage, and it is not easy to effect a radical change for the better unless and until India is politically free.

We have been actively engaged in reconstructing Hindu society socially, at least since the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj in 1830. The Arya Samaj has been very active in this respect since 1877. Other agencies for social reform too

have been quite active in this matter. We have denounced early marriage from thousands of platforms, and even though we got practically no help from the legislature, we have made substantial progress in raising the marriageable age of boys and girls. Marriage at the age of 12 is common now only among certain communities and castes. Personally I consider it a social crime to marry a girl under the age of 16, even though Indian girls reach puberty at about the age of 12. We have carried on an incessant war against the restrictions imposed upon the remarriage of widows, and surely some improvement is visible, though there is still a lot to do. The restrictions on widow remarriage are to be found in a few castes and communities, not in all. All the same, thousands of widow remarriages are reported every year among all classes and castes and sections of the people. There are castes among Moslems and Christians too. Some of them do not allow their widows to remarry. But there is progress all round. There is not one orthodox caste or community in which widow remarriages have not taken place. During the last decade the struggle between the orthodox Hindus and the reformers has been very keen, and the former have considerably lost ground.

The age of consent in India is 13, as fixed by statute. There is a bill before the Central Legislature to raise it to 14. It is being opposed by the Government. There is another bill to fix the marriageable age of girls at 12. Both are private bills introduced by Hindu members of the Legislative Assembly.

Similarly, the movement to remove untouchability is very widespread and influential. Large sums of money have been spent by private Hindu agencies to remove untouchability and provide general and special educational facilities for the depressed classes, and otherwise to uplift them socially and economically. The statement that the movement is opposed by a 'myriad' tongues is a wicked lie because even the most orthodox are now anxious to do justice to the depressed classes. Personally I do not believe in caste. I am in favour of its complete abolition. Nor do I believe in any distinction between the rights of men and women as regards marriage.

All these matters have been discussed in detail in the body of the book, and Miss Mayo's statements challenged and refuted. If Miss Mayo had confined herself to a *bona fide* criticism of Hindu social life the Indian social reformer would have stood by her and taken advantage of her criticisms without ever thinking of exposing the social vices of the West in retaliation. It is no business of ours to throw mud at other nations. There are evils in every society. Rightly or wrongly, we Indians believe that, even with some objectionable customs, sex life in India is much purer, much healthier and much more moral than it is in the West. We honestly believe that the 'sex stimulus' in India is not so morbidly strong as it is in the West. As for venereal diseases we believe there is no comparison between the East and the West. The disparity is simply huge, and our medical men think that except among some

hill tribes the diseases were pactically unknown in Indian life before the advent of the British. Syphilis is called ' Bad-i-Farang,' being a disease of Farangis (Europeans).

If, however, Miss Mayo had said that our social life was rotten and needed reform and reconstruction, we would not have felt so much annoyed as we do now at the base use she has made of her imperfect knowledge and at her wicked generalizations for political and racial propaganda. Even the India Office in London had warned her against such generalizations but she did not heed that and has run down a whole nation of 315 millions of human beings. She has invented false charges against us to show that we are unfit for political freedom, and that the British Government is the very best thing for us. During my recent visits to Europe in 1924, 1926, and 1927, I have observed that a wide-spread, well-organized, well-financed and influentially backed propaganda is being carried on, not only in Great Britain, but also in other countries of the West, especially in the United States of America, against India's right and claim to self-government. All kinds of agencies are at work in this campaign of vilification. Anglo-Indians retired from service or still in service, missionaries and commercial magnates, all have joined hands. The methods employed are very subtle and insidious. Political and economic troubles are kept in the background and social evils are brought out in the limelight. As usual, exaggerated and false pictures are put on the screen, which create a feeling of loathing and

disgust against the Indian people. Press, platform, pulpit, the stage and cinema are all being used against us. There is no doubt that Miss Mayo's *Mother India* is a part of that propaganda. It seems that her mission in life is to oppose and bring into ridicule and contempt all the Asiatic movements for freedom from the Anglo-Saxon yoke.

As I have already said, Miss Mayo came in contact with Mr. Lionel Curtis in August 1925. In his foreword to the English edition of the *Isles of Fear* Mr. Curtis remarked as follows :*

" Here [in Williams Town] and elsewhere in the United States I have met such friends who can speak with official and first-hand knowledge of the events and conditions described in the book. In two opinions they all agree. Miss Mayo, they tell me, has written nothing which in their opinion is not the truth... They add, however, that there are other facts of the situation which Miss Mayo could scarcely be expected to observe unless she had visited the Islands in previous years... All of my informants had been in India and had met several of the Nationalist leaders. To my question, how they compared with the Philippine leaders, they, each, replied (on separate occasions) that the Indian leaders stood on a different and altogether higher plane."

Mr. Curtis knew, and Miss Mayo must have known that a revision of the Reforms was due and

*Curtis *op. cit.*

that the Statutory inquiry into the working of the reforms was about to be undertaken. The London *Times* and other Tory papers had been agitating for some time past over the constitution of this commission. They wanted no Indians on it. They had been prejudicing the British public against India by their attacks on the Hindu social system and by laying special emphasis on the disabilities of the untouchables. *The Times* had been devoting column after column to the exposure of these so-called evils. It seems probable that the British Tory Press knew that a book of the kind was in preparation. So when the book came out they began to boom it as the work of a 'disinterested' foreigner. It was the most valuable support to their cause. Such was their anxiety to shut out any criticism of the book from its readers that they threw all journalistic ethics to the winds and refused to publish the criticisms of *Mother India* though signed by the most influential and reliable Indians, official and non-official, then present in London. The book has been distributed free by the thousand. All these facts leave no doubt in the mind of an Indian that the real motive behind the book is political and racial.

In these circumstances should we not hit back by stating what is perfectly true—that the vices attributed to us by Miss Mayo are to be found, some of them even more widely and intensely, also in European society and that they are not considered to be a bar to national and political freedom? As I have said, the question has cost me many sleepless nights, but I have finally come

to the conclusion that my duty to my country and to truth requires that I should not leave my rejoinder incomplete, and that even though the task be not congenial to my nature, I must do it.

When I returned from America in 1920 I was repeatedly asked to write my impressions of Western life, but I declined to do so as such action might involve me in the unpleasant task of discussing the dark side of sex morality in the West. I believe in seeing the best in every nation. That is how we can improve international relations and advance the cause of international peace. If I am, therefore, for the first time in my life, going to depart from that rule, the responsibility is entirely Miss Mayo's or that of her Anglo-Indian supporters.

V.

Not only in the use, rather more aptly in the abuse, of her authorities, but also in her own writing Miss Mayo's one endeavour is to draw a dark and dreary picture of our life. Her sweeping generalizations are often without a shred of truth in them. Her mind is obscured by our excessive sensuality, and on the Freudian hypothesis her frequent references to this topic, in season and out of season, suggest morbidity of an uncommon order. For our readers we reproduce below a few typical statements :

Page 25.—If you do employ them [women teachers for primary education] you invite the ruin of each woman that you so expose.

Page 30.—The infant that survives the birth strain......[is] often venereally poisoned.

Page 30.—The child growing up in the home learns, from earliest grasp of word and act, to dwell upon sex relations.

Pages 32-33.—In many parts of the country, north and south, the little boy, his mind so prepared, is likely, if physically attractive, to be drafted for the satisfaction of grown men, or to be regularly attached to a temple, in the capacity of prostitute. Neither parent as a rule sees any harm in this, but is, rather, flattered that the son has been found pleasing.

This, also, is a matter neither of rank nor of special ignorance. In fact, so far are they from seeing good and evil as we see good and evil, that the mother, high caste or low caste, will practise upon children—the girl 'to make her sleep well,' the boy 'to make him manly,' an abuse which the boy, at least, is apt to continue daily for the rest of his life.

This last point should be noticed. Highest medical authorities in widely scattered sections attest that practically every child brought under observation, for whatever reason, bears on its body the signs of this habit.

Page 34.—Little in the popular Hindu code suggests self-restraint in any direction, least of all in sex relations.

Page 34.—After the rough outline just given, small surprise will meet the statement that from

one end of the land to the other the average male Hindu of thirty years, provided he has means to command his pleasure, is an old man; and that from seven to eight, out of every ten such males between the ages of twenty-five and thitry, are impotent. These figures are not random, and are affected by little save the proviso above given.*

Page 61.—[Indian women] commonly experience marital use two and three times a day.

Page 67.—Until the Pax Britannica reached so far [the Khyber Pass], few Hindus came through alive, unless mounted and clad as women.

Page 84.—An inmate of her husband's home at the time of his death, the widow, although she has no legal claim for protection, may be retained there on the terms above described, or she may be turned adrift. Then she must live by charity—or by prostitution, into which she not seldom falls. And her dingy, ragged figure, her bristly, shaven head, even though its stubble be white over the haggard face of unhappy age, is often to be seen in temple crowds or in the streets of pilgrimage cities, where sometimes niggard piety doles her a handful of rice.

Page 86.—The remarriage of a Hindu widowed wife is still held to be inconceivable.

Page 91.—Therefore, in total, you have the half-blind, the aged, the crippled, the palsied and

* Even a sympathetic British reviewer of Miss Mayo's book, Mr. Rushbrook Williams, formerly Publicity Agent of the Indian Government, is forced to point out the evident absurdity of such a staement. See his review in the *Asiatic Review*, London.

the diseased, drawn from the dirtiest poor, as sole ministrants to the women of India in the most delicate, the most dangerous and the most important hour of their existence. [This is about midwives.]

Page 154.—To-day the defenders of untouchability are myriad, and, though Mr. Gandhi lives his faith, but few of his supporters have at any time cared to follow him so far.

Page 308.—" Without the British no Hindus will remain in India except such as we [Pathans] keep for slaves."

Page 325.—"If we protect our babies the gods will be jealous and bring us all bad luck"!!! [These words are put into the mouth of a Bengali mother.]

Page 332.—No orthodox Hindu, and certainly no woman, will consent to wear shoes.

We have given only a few samples. These and many more of such statements we shall notice in the body of our book. But can a writer, who indulges in such wild generalizations on such a lavish scale, be taken seriously by serious people?

A POSTSCRIPT.

In *Liberty*, a weekly magazine owned by the *Chicago Tribune*, in its issue of the 14th January, 1928, Miss Mayo has an article that attempts to meet some of the criticisms on *Mother India*.

She refers in particular to Mahatma Gandhi's review of her book from which we have already quoted at length. Being clever at quibbling she tries to hoodwink the public by throwing the real issues involved in the background when protesting that she had not said that the Mahatma always had two secretaries about him to take down all that he said, a fact which is a mere side issue. 'If Mr. Gandhi were to look on page 222 [page 202, English edition] he would discover that he has inserted the word "always" into my text.' Nothing of the kind. Mr. Gandhi has inserted nothing into her text; he merely says that without using the word 'always' Miss Mayo conveys the impression that she is not merely describing the occasion of her visit to his 'Ashram.'

But that, however, is a trivial thing. Much more important is the message incident. And in this Miss Mayo certainly does not come out with credit to herself. Says she:

"......I duly received back the corrected and expanded report of the interview, over Mr. Gandhi's own signature.

'The first sentence of this document of several typed pages, now before me, is his reply to my opening question: 'Have you any message for America?' It reads as it was spoken, and as I have printed it: 'My message to America is the hum of this spinning-wheel.'

'Mr. Gandhi now seeks to disavow the 'message' as the invention of an enemy. 'I do not

noticed by her, she having released herself from the further necessity of considering Gandhi!

And, again, what about her taking liberty with Tagore's paper in Keyserling's book? If Miss Mayo's article in any way seeks to make amends for the grave wrong she did Tagore, or even if she has some quibble in defence of her indefensible mishandling, we do not find it in the excerpts from her article that we have seen.

UNHAPPY INDIA



LALA LAJPAT RAI, M.L.A.

CHAPTER I

THE ARGUMENT

The first two parts of Miss Mayo's work (chapters I—X) deal with the social life—that is to say the social evils—of the Hindus. Most of the evils dealt with by her, so far as they exist, are really common to all classes of Indians, but she generally singles out the Hindus for her malicious attacks. These chapters are full of rash and vile generalizations against the manhood and womanhood of India. Sometimes these charges contain just that dash of truth which makes a statement more dangerous than an utter falsehood. No Indian, however keenly conscious he may be of the evils of the existing social order, and however great may be his ardour for radical reform, can, in any case, accept the picture drawn by Miss Mayo as anything but grossly exaggerated and untrue.

The fact is that Miss Mayo began with entirely wrong premises and presumptions. We have seen in the *Introduction* that there is good reason to suppose that this 'unsubsidized, uncommitted, and unattached' woman journalist from America came on a mission of political propaganda. Her object was to whitewash British imperialism, and in the fulfilment of that mission she has ignored all the decencies of a writer's art. For illiteracy, misery and disease in India she assigns no responsibility to the State. To her all that there is in India is wrong, and is so because the Hindu is

either a savage sensual beast, or a pervert, or both.

The details of her picture of Indian social life form the subject of discussion in the chapters that follow. But Miss Mayo's logic, according to which the Indian Government is absolved from all responsibility in the matter, must be examined at the very outset, for it is fundamental to her argument.

On page 23 of *Mother India* we find Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Mahatma Gandhi quoted. The ultra-moderate politician, Sir Chimanlal, is reported to have stated: "What this country suffers from is want of initiative, want of enterprise, and want of hard, sustained work."

This is put in juxtaposition with a sentence taken from Mahatma Gandhi's weekly, *Young India*. "We rightly charge the English rulers for our helplessness and lack of initiative and originality."

Then follows another statement attributed to 'other public men of India,' who demand:

"'Why are our enthusiasms so sterile? Why are our mutual pledges, our self-dedications to brotherhood and the cause of liberty so soon spent and forgotten? Why is our manhood itself so brief? Why do we tire so soon and die so young?' Only to answer themselves with the cry: 'Our spiritual part is wounded and bleeding. Our very souls are poisoned by the shadow of the arrogant

stranger, blotting out our sun. Nothing can be done—nothing, anywhere, but to mount the political platform and faithfully denounce our tyrant until he takes his flight. When Britain has abdicated and gone, then, and not till then, free men breathing free air, may we turn our minds to the lesser needs of our dear Mother India.' "

To all this Miss Mayo's glib reply is:

" The British administration of India, be it good, bad, or indifferent, has nothing whatever to do with the conditions above indicated. Inertia, helplessness, lack of initiative and originality, lack of staying power and of sustained loyalties, sterility of enthusiasm, weakness of life-vigour itself—all are traits that truly characterize the Indian not only of to-day, but of long-past history. All, furthermore, will continue to characterize him, in increasing degree, until he admits their causes and with his own two hands uproots them. His soul and body are indeed chained in slavery. But he himself wields and hugs his chains and with violence defends them. No agency but a new spirit within his own breast can set him free. And his arraignments of outside elements, past, present or to come, serve only to deceive his own mind and to put off the day of his deliverance.

' Take a girl-child twelve years old, a pitiful physical specimen in bone and blood, illiterate, ignorant, without any sort of training in habits of health. Force motherhood upon her at the earliest possible moment. Rear her weakling son in intensive vicious practices that drain his small

vitality day by day. Give him no outlet in sports. Give him habits that make him, by the time he is thirty years of age, a decrepit and querulous old wreck—and will you ask what has sapped the energy of his manhood?

'Take a huge population, mainly rural, illiterate and loving its illiteracy. Try to give it primary education without employing any of its women as teachers—because if you do employ them you invite the ruin of each woman that you so expose. Will you ask why that people's education proceeds slowly?

'Take bodies and minds bred and built on the lines thus indicated. Will you ask why the death-rate is high and the people poor?

'Whether British or Russian or Japanese sit in the seat of the highest; whether the native princes divide the land, reviving old days of princely dominance; or whether some autonomy more complete than that now existing be set up, the only power that can hasten the pace of Indian development toward freedom, beyond the pace it is travelling to-day, is the power of the men of India, wasting no more time in talk, recriminations, and shiftings of blame, but facing and attacking, with the best resolution they can muster, the task that awaits them in their own bodies and souls."

To avoid doing her any injustice we have quoted Miss Mayo at length.

Now it is quite plausible to argue that we Indians have by our disunion and foolishness invited foreign rule, and must blame ourselves if that rule has dwarfed our stature, emasculated our bodies, made us incapable of initiative, blocked our way to progress and national efficiency. If such were Miss Mayo's argument, we would admit its force. In fact, it is because this argument is so strong that we want to throw off the foreign yoke and be free to develop to our full stature as a nation.

But Miss Mayo seems to argue in quite a different way. To her, political environment has nothing to do with national inefficiency and helplessness. Are initiative and enterprise in a nation wholly independent of its political environment? Are literacy, health, national efficiency in no way influenced by those who run the legislative and administrative machinery? Are these things dependent wholly on social custom, as Miss Mayo would have us believe? Are not, on the other hand, even social customs largely determined by the political conditions prevailing in a country and the literacy of her people?

These questions go to the very root of the matter. For, to us, it seems that the Indian problem is primarily a politico-economic one, and one of social customs is only secondary.

To suit her purpose Miss Mayo assumes the existence of certain facts which do not exist at all. Secondly, she fancifully traces them to 'long-past history'—of which she is utterly

ignorant. Thirdly, she entirely ignores the effects of economic and political bondage on the *whole* life of a people, including even the social and spiritual.

Miss Mayo argues in a most superficial way when she thus lightly dismisses the political factor. It must have been women like Miss Mayo that elicited this unenviable tribute from a very distinguished psychologist, Professor Münsterberg, in his sympathetic but frank study of America:* "The American woman who has scarcely a shred of education, looks in vain for any subject on which she has not firm convictions already at hand... The arrogance of this feminine lack of knowledge is the symptom of a profound trait in the feminine soul, and points to dangers springing from the domination of women in the intellectual life..."

Why is a girl-child of 12 years 'a pitiful physical specimen in bone and blood?' asks Miss Mayo. The causes may be: (*a*) heredity, (*b*) insufficient food, (*c*) unhygienic conditions of life, (*d*) illiteracy and ignorance. Leaving (*a*) alone can anyone say, that (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) are not affected by political conditions? It is an admitted fact that children born of weak parents can to a great extent make up for inherited weakness if they are well looked after afterwards. But if to hereditary weakness are added the disabilities which result from political bondage and economic

**The Americans*, p. 587.

penury then God help such children. It is the duty of a national government to see that every child that is born is well looked after, and, if the parents are too poor to bring it up in a healthy atmosphere and to fit it for the duties of citizenship, the responsibility is the State's. It is the recognition of this principle that has led in modern times to the establishment of 'national nurseries' for the benefit of deficiently born children, and of national public schools for the free and compulsory education of all children, irrespective and regardless of their parents. The prohibition of child labour, the compulsory physical education of all the citizens, the State or municipal feeding of the insufficiently fed children, the compulsory and periodical medical examination, and, last but not least, a provision by the State for unemployment, are everyday facts in free and progressive lands. Why are the States taking so much trouble to root out drunkenness, to remedy and cure venereal disease, to regulate marriage and to prevent overcrowding? Why have the different governments in the world established Ministries of Health? Why has the government in Britain taken up the problems of milk supply and the provision of good sanitary houses for all and sundry? Why has all this been done if Miss Mayo's premises are correct?

If the national governments of the world were justified in undertaking these responsibilities, why has the Government of India shirked them? The explanation is obvious. The Govern-

ment of India is a foreign government whose chief business in India is to get the most out of her and to exploit her for the benefit of the Empire. When Sir Austen Chamberlain (an ex-Secretary of State for India) speaking at the Savoy Hotel on March 29, 1917, said that India would not and ought not to remain content to be a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the rest of the Empire, the implication was clear that so far India had been no better than a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the Empire. In that position she continues to be to this day. The whole economic history of British rule in India is evidence of that.*

Given the fact that for the last 200 years India has been exploited by the British for the benefit of their Empire, her social degradation, the physical degeneration of her sons and daughters and the lack of initiative and spirit in them can be easily explained. Everyone knows, perhaps Miss Mayo not excepted, what social legislation in Great Britain, Germany, France, the United States, and Japan has done within the last 75 years. There is no sphere of child or adult life, the ' sanctity ' of which has not been invaded by law and administrative orders. It is only a national State that identifies itself with the nation. The interests of the two are so inter-dependent as to make them wholly identified with each other. Even in

*In subsequent chapters I shall have occasion to refer to this. But for fuller particulars I must refer the reader to documents quoted from, and referred to by me in my book *England's Debt to India*, published by B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1917.



Lokamanya Bala Gangadhar Tilak

Tilak, at first a teacher of mathematics in Poona Ferguson College, then a journalist and Hindu leader, had to suffer imprisonment on long terms twice. He was a versatile genius ; his researches in the Vedas astonished the greatest Western orientalists. But above all he shines as the most fearless as well as the most capable leader of the nationalist movement. His appellation Lokamanya—Honoured of the People —shows what a magic he held over millions of Indians.

ancient India the State had a great deal to do with social life and public health. Hindu law-givers and commentators devoted volumes to public education in all its branches, student life, public and personal hygiene, marriage, etc.

To-day every political thinker and every statesman recognizes the responsibility of the State in equipping the citizen properly for the race of life. The thing is so obvious to-day that it may seem superfluous to labour the point and cite authorities. However, in view of the fact that the question is vital to Miss Mayo's argument it may be worth while to have the opinion of some recent writers.

The American sociologist, Professor Scott Nearing, remarks in one of his best books, *Social Adjustment*:*

"In a large community, maladjustment [i.e., social maladjustment] can be removed *only* by concentrating public opinion *in the form of legislation*. Among large groups public opinion may relieve maladjustment temporarily but *permanent reform can be effected only through legislative expression*." [Italics are ours.]

Discussing modern social philosophy, Mr. L. T. Hobhouse, the great Liberal thinker of England, has often pointed out how the present ideas of the responsibility of the State in social matters have developed. In one of his books† he

* Macmillan, 1911, p. 323.

† *Social Evolution and Political Theory*, Columbia University Press, 1911, pp. 178 *et. seq.*

speaks of the extension of the sphere of common responsibility in the remarkable growth of State control, and discusses the principles on which the responsibility of the State for employment is based leading to a State provision for old age pensions, etc. He refers to the report of the minority on the Poor Law Commission which recommended that ' the labour exchanges, themselves constituting a new State agency for the provision of employment, should be constituted the centre of a machine by which no adult, healthy working man or woman would be left without means of support in periods of industrial crises. Speaking of the duties of a modern State, Professor Hobhouse remarks :

"The determined idler must not be allowed to prey upon society, he must not go cadging about for odds and ends of useless jobs or for bits of charity; he must not be allowed to keep his wife and children in rags, ill-housed and underfed. The children must be cared for; the mother, if she is doing her duty by them, is doing one woman's work and may fairly claim public maintenance with no possible question of a return. As to the man, he is a fit subject for discipline and restraint. For him a labour colony must be provided, where he must learn to work and gain his discharge as soon as he can prove himself efficient enough in mind and body to stand the stress of industrial competition."

In that strain he goes on to define the duty of the State towards people of different types and

different ages. The gist of his survey is that recent years have witnessed a 'remarkable extension of the functions of the State as the organizer of certain great departments of life.' Foremost amongst these is public education. 'Within the lifetime of men who still survive the function of the State in education was conceived as being adequately discharged by the grant of a few thousands a year in support of the poor. Within my lifetime the State has made itself responsible for the elementary education of three-fourths of the community, and from elementary education it has advanced to secondary education, and at least to an active interest in and a modest financial support of education of a university type.' As Professor Hobhouse points out, a good deal of the burden on the State to-day would have been regarded by earlier thinkers as 'a necessary incident of parental responsibility.' To-day 'the older liberty of the family is impaired by the principle of compulsion.' 'No more striking illustration of the extension of State functions could be given than a comparison of the budget of an Education Minister of the present day with that of 1850 or 1860.'

The testimony of history is clear. If one studies the condition of England, religious, social, hygienic, intellectual and industrial, before 1870—or still earlier, before the Reform laws of 1830—one would find that the condition of the masses was worse in most respects than that of the people of India to-day. Illiteracy was rampant, disease and destitution were wide-spread, the condition of

women and children in the factories was indescribable, and morality of any kind seemed almost non-existent. Down to 1870 education of the people was in a sad state. In speaking of the achievements of England in the nineteenth century, Mr. G. M. Trevelyan, the historian, says :*

"A characteristic of the new national machinery, fully apparent towards the end of Queen Victoria's reign, was the close inter-relation that had grown up on the one hand between private philanthropic effort and State control, and on the other between local and central governments. As Parliament and local government began to respond to the needs of the community as a whole, and as the State became more and more intelligently interested in the work of private effort in education, medicine, sanitation and a hundred other sides of life,—an elaborate system of State aid, enforcement and control came into being, through Treasury grants-in-aid to local bodies, State inspection of conditions of labour and of life, industrial insurance and the modern educational system."

Again :

"The advance in humanity, democracy and education, and the changes in industrial method, bringing large crowds of wage-earners of both sexes together in offices and factories, led to a new conception of the place of woman in society. The education of women, from being *almost totally*

* *History of England*, G. M. Trevelyan, Longmans, 1926, p. 617.

neglected, became in a couple of generations comparable to that of men. The position of women in the family was altered in law, and was yet more altered in practice and opinion."* [Italics are ours.]

Some of the Continental countries started work on these lines earlier than Great Britain. Germany passed a law for the compulsory education of her children in 1717. Discussing the tendencies of the British dominions to entrust the State more and more with social duties, Charles Pearson in his book on *National Life and Character* says: †

"Let it be remembered, however, that every Continental State—even those of Germanic origin—has worked for centuries upon these lines, and that in England itself the first entrenchments of the *laissez faire* system have been forced."

These principles are recognized to-day by every State and every statesman. Individualist and Socialist, Fascist and Bolshevik countries alike recognize that it is the duty of the State to see that its people are not illiterate. This principle finds acceptance in the over-prosperous United States of America as much as in its indigent neighbour, Mexico, and as much in the Far Eastern Japan as in the Western lands. A politically free India, would, no doubt, be no exception to it. Indians no more love illiteracy

* *Ibid.*, p. 618.

† Macmillan, 1913, p. 19.

and ignorance than do the masses in the Western countries. But it must be recognized that progress in literacy in India, as in the West, cannot be altogether without compulsion.

CHAPTER II

THE LIGHT THROUGH THE AGES

Chapters XIII to XVI of Miss Mayo's book deal with education in India. The first of these is headed, ' Give Me Office or Give Me Death.' Miss Mayo betrays a lack of humour, when she unwittingly chooses a heading which in itself is the strongest condemnation of the educational policy of the British Government in India. But she does not seem to recognize that the Government in India owes a duty to the people in matters educational. Her sole concern is to find fault with the Hindus and throw the whole blame for the inadequacy of education and of the defects of the British Indian educational system on their broad shoulders. Chapter XIII of *Mother India* opens thus:

" Education, some Indian politicians affirm, should be driven into the Indian masses by compulsory measures. 'England,' they say, ' introduced compulsory education at home long ago. Why does she not do so here? Because, clearly it suits her purpose to leave the people ignorant.' "

A ' hot reply ' to this, Miss Mayo tells us, was given her by the Raja of Panagal, the ' then anti-Brahman leader of Madras Presidency' :

" ' Rubbish!' he exclaimed. ' What did the Brahmans do for our education in the 5,000 years

before Britain came? I remind you: *They asserted their right to pour hot lead into the ears of the low caste man who should dare to study books.* All learning belonged to them, they said. When the Muhammadans swarmed in and took us, even that was an improvement on the old Hindu regime. But only in Britain's day did education become the right of all, with State schools, colleges, and universities accessible to all castes, communities, and peoples.' " [Italics are ours.]

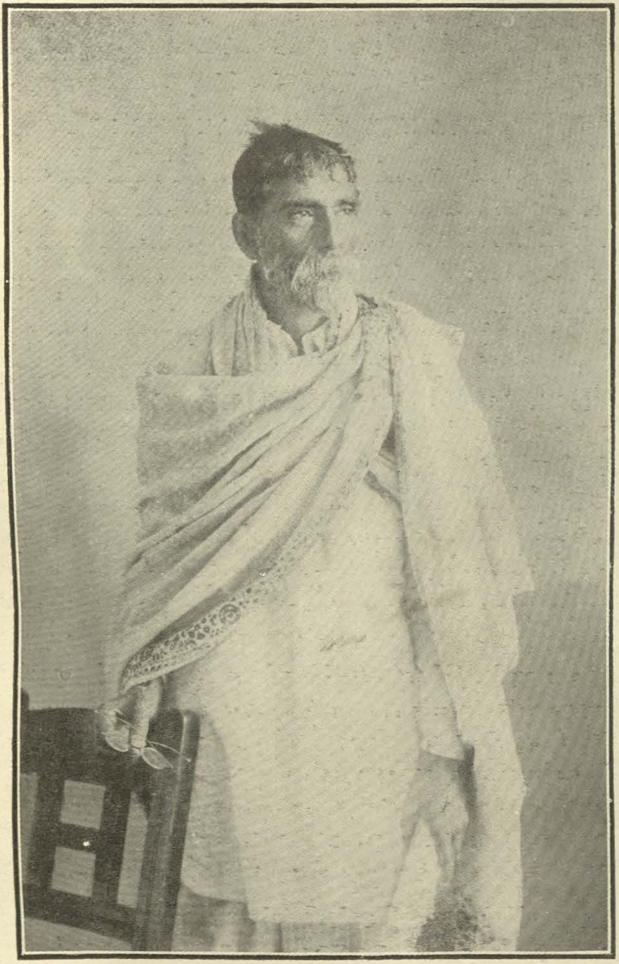
This is supported by two quotations from the book of the Abbé Dubois. The first quotation, torn, as is not unusual with our authoress, from the context, runs thus:

" '[The Brahmans] saw well enough,' says Dubois, 'what a moral ascendancy knowledge would give them over the other castes, and they therefore made a mystery of it by taking all possible precautions to prevent other classes from obtaining access to it.' "

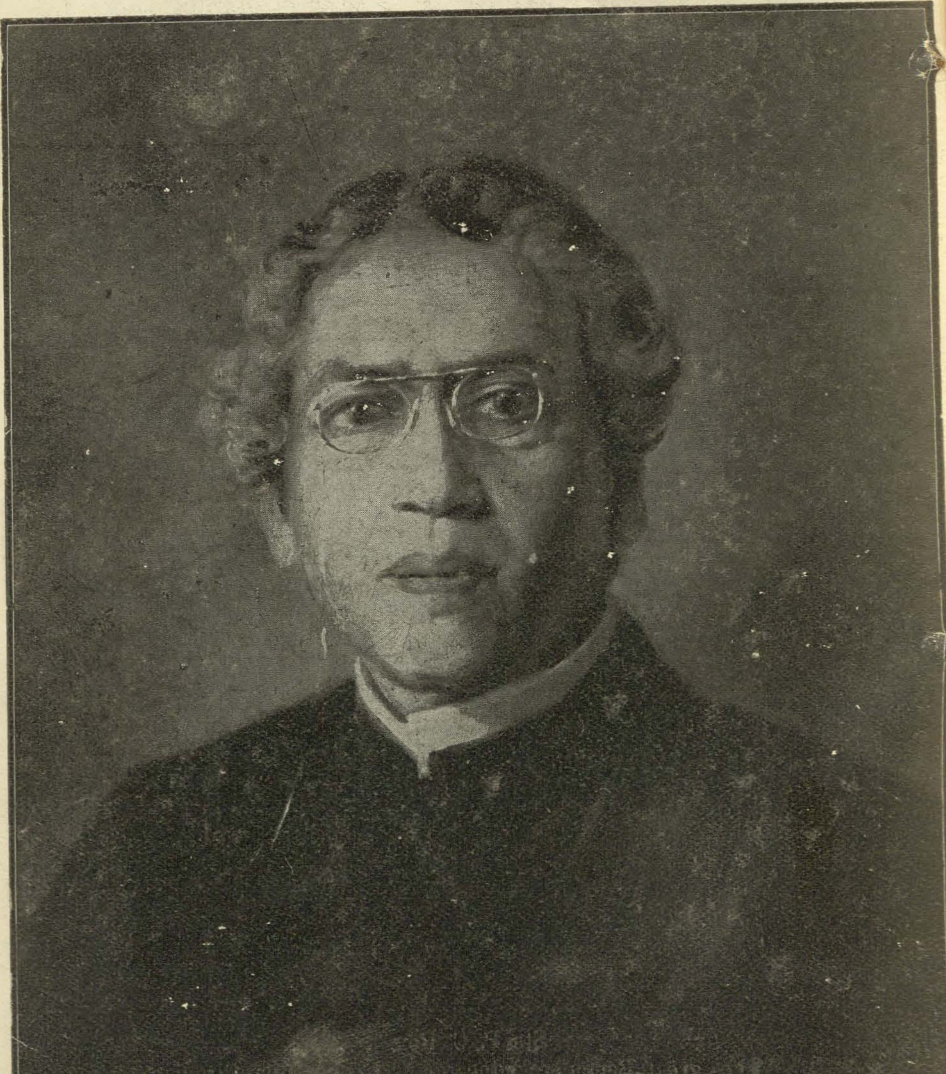
Miss Mayo omits the first two sentences of the paragraph from which this quotation is taken, for they credit the Hindus with having cultivated learning from the earliest times, and the Brahmans with having been always as 'it were its depositories.'* Miss Mayo evidently did not want to let this kind of 'damaging' statement go into her book.

We have already discussed the credentials of the Abbé in the *Introduction*, and it is unnecessary

* *Hindu Manners*, etc., 3rd edition, Oxford University Press, p. 376.



SIR P. C. ROY
The great Bengalee educationist and philanthropist who has remained unmarried and devoted his life and fortune to the service of his people.



SIR. J. C. BOSE, F. R. S.

The Great Scientist of India who has given away the major part of his fortun
to build up a Science Institute at Calcutta.

to emphasize again that no unprejudiced enquirer can afford to rely on that tainted source. The Raja of Panagal, Miss Mayo's other authority, has, as will be seen from his letter reproduced in the *Introduction*, made it clear that Miss Mayo, as seems her wont, has in this case too been guilty of a dishonest use of the inverted commas. The language put within the commas is not that of the Raja to whom it is ascribed, but of the American journalist herself. The Raja had referred only to the ban against the study of the Vedas by the Shudras but Miss Mayo, by resorting to tricks of the trade so familiar to her, makes the statement far more sweeping. Surely reciting the Vedas is not equivalent to 'all learning,' and 'study of books.' Besides, what has the present day illiteracy to do with what the Brahmans did or did not do ages ago? But Miss Mayo was anxious to supply a background for her subsequent conclusions in which she eulogizes the Government of India's work in the matter of education in India and throws the whole blame of the educational backwardness of the Hindus on themselves.

Panagal's statement is at best that of a partisan, and Dubois's remarks are irrelevant. Assuming that the Brahmans were so wicked as to shut the doors of knowledge upon all non-Brahmans—which is a lie in itself—can that justify the behaviour in this century, of a Western government that poses to be civilized and up to date, and is no mild critic of the Brahmans? Are we to conclude that the modern white Brahmans have taken the place of the yellow and black

Brahmans of old India and are treading in their footsteps in keeping the people of non-European origin in ignorance and bondage?

But the charge against the Hindu Brahmans has no leg to stand upon, and we have excellent authority for proving its baselessness. I have before me a small book* written by a Christian missionary, Rev. F. E. Keay, on this subject. Rev. Keay is no apologist for the Brahmans. I shall base the account that follows on his book.

Rev. Keay traces the Brahmanic system of education to the very remotest past. By the time the 'various portions of the Veda had been completed, Brahmanic education was not only of long standing but was highly organized.'†

It is unnecessary to go into details here regarding the curricula at the Brahmanic seats of learning. As a rule the young Brahmans specialized in the Vedic and the philosophical studies. For the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas 'it is probable that...the study of the Veda was something far less serious than [it was] for the young Brahmans, and the duties which the former had to perform in life must have necessitated their receiving the education suitable for their special callings before they became adults. Probably they tended less and less to attend the Brahmanic schools, and vocational schools, or at least domestic training,

* *Ancient Indian Education*, Oxford University Press, 1918.
† *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

for their future duties in life were developed.'* 'By the time that the earliest *Dharmasutras* which are extant were composed (*circa* 500 B.C.) the system was in full working order, and it had become customary for Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, as well as for Brahmans to be initiated with the sacred thread as a preliminary to entering upon the period of life under Brahman teachers, which was to occupy at least twelve years.'†

Later on (between the sixth and fourth centuries before Christ), Kshatriya education came to attract special attention. The science of politics had grown up. 'The education of the young Indian nobles was not inferior to that of the European knights in the times of chivalry... The idea that the king and the nobles had a duty to perform to society in the protection of the weak, and that their position was not one so much of glory and of ease as of service to others, is very prominent.'‡

"A Vaishya," says Rev. Keay on the authority of Manu, "must know the respective value of gems, of pearls, of corals, of metals, of cloth made of thread, of perfumes, and of condiments. He must be acquainted with the manner of sowing seeds, and of the good and bad qualities of fields, and he must perfectly know all measures and weights. Moreover, the excellence and defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of different countries, the probable profit and loss on merchan-

* *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

‡ *Op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

dise, and the means of properly rearing cattle. He must be acquainted with the proper wages of servants, with the various languages..."*

Brahman schools of learning known as *tols* were 'indeed scattered all over the land in numerous towns and villages.'† Sometimes in a town of special sanctity, or even of political importance, *tols* were established side by side and constituted a kind of university. Benares and Nadia furnish examples.

Rev. Keay sees in the educational system of ancient India 'an interesting and pleasing picture of the life of pupil and teacher...dating back to many centuries before Christ.'‡ The teacher had no mercenary motive to impel him to teach, but was to perform his office solely as a duty. He was forbidden to accept a fee. The pupil, on the completion of his course, would offer a present to his preceptor. But 'except possibly in the case of rich pupils it could never have been in any sense an adequate remuneration.'§ The pupil was trained to a simple life, whether he was rich or poor, and habits of discipline, reverence and self-respect were inculcated. The discipline was somewhat rigorous, but had nothing harsh or brutal about it. In the matter of the punishment of the pupil the Hindus were far more humane than Britons of the time of Dickens. Keay quotes

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

§ *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

Gautama as laying down that, ' as a rule, the pupil shall not be punished corporally. If no other course is possible he may be corrected with a thin rope or cane. If the teacher strikes him with any other instrument he shall be punished by the king.' Manu agrees with this in substance and forbids beating on a ' noble part ' of the body. Apastamba, however, allows as punishments 'frightening, fasting, bathing in cold water, and banishment from the teacher's presence.'*

What of the Shudras, the impatient reader will ask? Replies Rev. Keay: " The Shudras were always shut out from Brahmanic education, and they also developed their own system of training for the young craftsman. The popular system of education, which will be noticed in a later chapter, also grew up to meet a need for which the Brahmanic schools made no provision."† The caste system, its disadvantages notwithstanding, helped in keeping up high standards in craftsmanship which even the Abbé Dubois praised. " The spirit of fine art and of craftsmanship has existed in India for long centuries, and has still a future before it," says Keay. The system of education for the lads of each trade was a domestic one. Generally they were 'brought up to the same trade as their fathers.' 'The boy was taught by observing and handling real things,' and the training was free from the artificiality of the school-room.' The

* *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 57. The quotations that follow about the craftsman's education are from Keay's book, pp. 78-80.

father would take a great delight in passing on to his son his own skill. 'In the collection of jade at the Indian Museum there is a large engraved bowl on which a family in the employ of the Emperors of Delhi was engaged for 3 generations.' In several crafts there was a systematic course in drawing for the lads. 'The education of the young craftsman in India was entirely vocational, and even narrowly so.' In many occupations 'a knowledge of reading and writing would not be required for the direct purposes of the craft, and would not be learnt. But certain Sanskrit works would, in some occupations, be learnt by heart.'

Rev. Keay sums up his survey of the Brahmanic system :*

"Like the Muhammadan education with which it has many points of similarity, it [the Brahmanic education] was at least not inferior to the education of Europe, before the Revival of Learning. Not only did the Brahman educators develop a system of education which survived the crumbling of empires and the changes of society, but they also, through all these thousands of years, kept aglow the torch of higher learning, and numbered amongst them many great thinkers *who have left their mark not only upon the learning of India, but upon the intellectual life of the world.*" [Italics are ours.]

When Buddhism came, it had also to organize and develop a system of education. The Buddhist

* *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

system was very much like the Brahmanical system from which it borrowed largely. Some of the Buddhist universities were of enormous size. Their high standards of learning attracted many scholars from China, some of whom have recorded descriptions of these seats of learning. Buddhist education was by no means merely theological education. The study of medicine received special attention at the Buddhist universities. The Buddhist seats of learning did not shut their doors upon any caste or creed. The high caste, the low caste, the Buddhist, the would-be Buddhist, the non-Buddhist, all were welcome. The contribution of Buddhist monks to elementary mass education was also considerable. Because of its Buddhist monasteries practically every male adult in Burma was literate when the British set foot there. "In Burma," says Rev. Keay, "before the country came under British control, almost the whole male population passed through the monasteries, and were taught by the monks."* Under British rule of course that universal literacy has not survived.

These systems continued tenaciously even when political power passed on to the Muslims. Says Rev. Keay:†

"Some of the more ruthless, or more orthodox, of Muhammadan sovereigns destroyed Brahman places of learning, and scattered their students, but in spite of this interruption, Brahman

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

† The quotations (from Keay) about elementary education are from chapter V of the work referred to.

learning continued." The Buddhist institutions 'gradually decayed and disappeared, a process which was helped by the assimilation of Buddhism in India with Hinduism. But the Brahman education continued in spite of difficulties, and, as the Buddhist centres of learning decayed, those of the Brahmans became more prominent.'

*

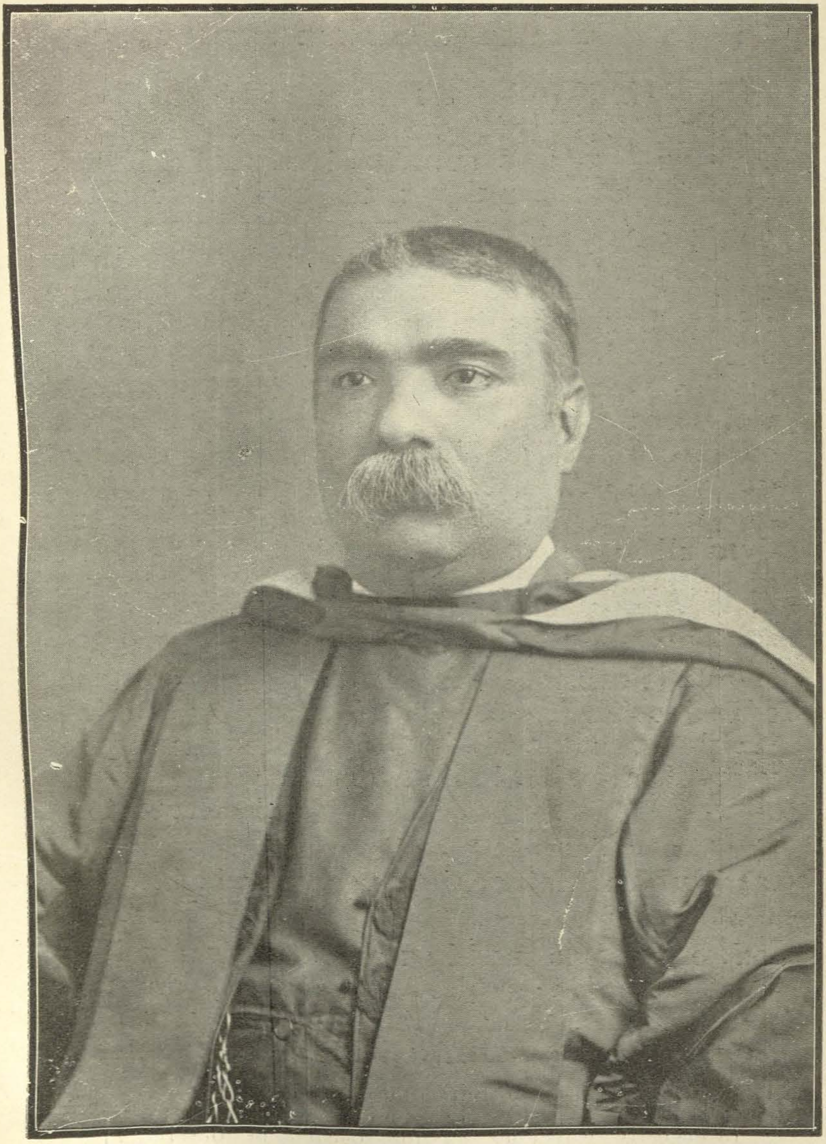
A reference has already been made to the system of *popular* elementary education, which flourished side by side with that of higher Sanskrit learning. We must now go into it more fully to see whether mass literacy was such an unknown thing in India as writers like Miss Katherine Mayo would have us believe.

Says Rev. Keay :*

"Side by side, however, with these [the Brahmanic, Buddhistic and Muslim systems] there grew up at some time and in most parts of India, a popular system of elementary education *which was open generally to all comers.* It must have arisen to supply a popular demand for instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and was made use of chiefly by the trading and agricultural classes."

The italics are ours, and are intended to make it clear that the contention that it is the caste system and the Brahmans that are responsible, wholly or largely, for the present day illiteracy in India, is nothing short of a gratuitous lie. As

**Ibid.*, p. 107.



Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee

Sir Asutosh was a Judge of the Calcutta High-Court and the chief architect and organiser of the Calcutta University, the first and foremost university in India. He was known as the "Bengal Tiger" for his masterful personality and unrelenting attitude towards all Governmental opposition to his plans.



Late Sir Surendranath Banerjea
One of the founders of the Indian National Congress. In his early career he was for sometime in the Indian Civil Service. An educationist and one of the greatest leaders of his day, his devotion to his motherland is manifest throughout his long and active public life.

Rev. Keay points out, this indigenous system of mass elementary education was independent of the Sanskrit school. 'There was no mutual dependence or connection between them.' The elementary school catered to the trading and artisan classes, the Sanskrit school to the religious and the learned.

It is difficult to trace when this system of national literacy originated, but there can be no doubt that it continued in full vigour all through the Muslim period and had not died out when the British came into power. Official records, incomplete as their account of the disappearing system is, leave no room for doubt about its having been wide-spread Rev. Keay refers briefly to the evidence furnished by British-Indian records and British officials :

" There was then, before the British Government took over control of education in India, a wide-spread, popular, indigenous system. It was not confined to one or two provinces, but was found in various parts of India, though some districts were more advanced than others. In the inquiry made for the Madras Presidency in 1822-26, it was calculated that rather less than one-sixth of the boys of school-going age received education of some sort. In the similar enquiry made for the Bombay Presidency (1823-28) the number of boys under instruction was put down as about one in eight. In one of the districts in Bengal, where Adam carried out his inquiry, he found 13.2 per cent. of the whole male population

receiving instruction. In another district he found 9 per cent. of all children of school-going age under instruction. William Ward says that it was supposed that about one-fifth of the male population of Bengal could read. In some parts of India the number under instruction would probably be less than that in the three provinces mentioned. Wide-spread, therefore, as elementary education was, it did not include a very large proportion even of the male population, and amongst females of course it hardly existed at all.''*

The conclusion in the last sentence is based on the evidence available at the time when the indigenous system was on the decline; even then, as we shall presently see from official evidence, at least in the case of the Punjab, the reference to literacy amongst women as almost non-existent is not warranted by facts. However, the following quotation from Rev. Keay's closing chapter is interesting: †

* There is reason to believe that in these surveys the number of indigenous schools and of scholars receiving education therein was under-estimated. Even where the survey was directed by a sympathetic official at the top, the subordinates collecting data did not evince the needed sympathy for the indigenous system; besides, the agency engaged in such surveys was often looked at askance by the people themselves. Dr. Lietner, speaking of these difficulties, refers to the returns of Rawalpindi district in the Punjab: "Of this district the public returns gave 171 schools with 3,700 pupils; the first returns of the district officers for 1878-9 gave 302 schools with 5,454 pupils, but when Mr. Miller took the matter in hand, the existence of 681 schools with 7,145 pupils was ascertained." Leitner's *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab*, p. 14.

† *Ibid.*, p. 169.

"*Few countries, and certainly no Western ones, have had systems of education which have had such a long and continuous history with so few modifications as some of the educational systems of India.* The long centuries through which they have held sway show that they must have possessed elements which were of value, and that they were not unsuited to the needs of those who developed and adopted them. They produced many great men and earnest seekers after truth, and their output on the intellectual side is by no means inconsiderable. They developed many noble educational ideals, which are a valuable contribution to educational thought and practice." [Italics are ours.]

These quotations from an authority who could not even remotely be accused of a pro-Hindu or pro-Indian bias, ought to be sufficient to convince any seeker after truth of the absurdity of Miss Mayo's position and of the utter unreliability of the foundations on which she has built.

Fortunately we have some official documents also that show how fairly wide-spread education in India was, and how well the indigenous system fulfilled our needs, till the British took charge of this country and made a clean sweep of the indigenous structure without substituting for it anything that could be called satisfactory or adequate. A remarkable publication amongst these is Dr. Leitner's *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab*. Dr. Leitner was an eminent educationist in the Punjab, who served as the first

Principal of the Lahore Government College, and later as the Director of Public Instruction in the province. The very thorough and painstaking investigations made by him about the indigenous system in the Punjab surviving to his day,—the eighties—were issued as a blue-book by the Government in 1882. Incidentally Dr. Leitner also put together the observations of several earlier administrators and writers that were relevant to his subject. We need offer no apologies for drawing largely upon Dr. Leitner's valuable document to give the reader an idea of the educational position at the time the British came into political power in India; for to arrive at truth one has to turn to facts revealed by first-hand investigation, and not to the propagandist clap-trap that Miss Mayo has treated us to.

The indigenous system of elementary education was so much bound up with the Indian village system* that a paragraph about the latter will not be irrelevant.†

"One of the great characteristics of Hinduism, according to Mr. Ludlow, " is its municipal institutions, as embodied in the village system...which deals with the soil in an essentially personal way... The occupants of a given space of land are no mere aggregation of human units, but an organised body, to which certain func-

* "Where the village system has been swept away by us, as in Bengal, there the village school has equally disappeared." (Ludlow in *British India*, quoted by Leitner, p. 18).

† *Ibid.*. p. 18.

tionaries are necessary, which enjoys, as a body, certain rights over the soil...even though within that community (certain persons) should be entitled to rights of what we should call absolute ownership. Everywhere the community has certain officers representing all those functions which appear to be most essential to village life. First is the headman, representing the whole community as towards the government; next is the accountant keeping a description of all the village lands, with the names of holders and terms of holding, and the accounts of individuals and of the village, drawing up deeds, writing letters. Then the police officer, not a mere paid watchman, but a member of the village, hereditary, as I have said, in his functions, enjoying as the price of them a certain definite amount of land. The priest, often a Brahman, is another of these officers, hereditary in like manner; in like manner holding the priest's land. The *schoolmaster*, often also the astrologer (though in other cases they are distinct functionaries), *is another*. And do not suppose that this is an office which has fallen into desuetude... *In every Hindu village* which has retained anything of its form...*the rudiments of knowledge are sought to be imparted;* there is not a child, except those of the outcastes (who form no part of the community), who is not able to read, to write, to cipher; in the last branch of learning they are confessedly most proficient..." [Italics ars ours.]

The Directors of the Company Bahadur were certainly no pro-Indian propagandists, and yet

Mr. A. P. Howell,* writing in his book entitled *Education in British India prior to 1854, and in 1870-71*, quotes passages from the First Education Despatch of the Court of Directors of the Company (June 1814), which bear glowing testimony to the efficiency of the indigenous system, and incidentally explain how it was financed. The reader will find that they form a refreshing contrast to the ignorant glib talk of Miss Mayo:

"We refer with particular satisfaction upon this occasion to that distinguished feature of internal polity which prevails in some parts of India, and by which the instruction of the people is provided for by a certain charge upon the produce of the soil, and by other endowments in favour of the village teachers, who are thereby rendered public servants of the community.

'The mode of instruction that from time immemorial has been practised under these masters has received the highest tribute of praise by its adoption in this country, under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Bell, formerly Chaplain at Madras; and *it is now become the mode by which education is conducted in our* [English] *national establishments*, from a conviction of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction.

'This venerable and benevolent institution of the Hindus is represented to have withstood the shock of revolutions, and to its operation is as-

*Quoted by Dr. Leitner, *op. cit.* pp. 21-22.

cribed the general intelligence of the natives as scribes and accountants. We are so strongly persuaded of its great utility, that we are desirous you should take early measures to inform yourselves of its present state, and that you will report to us the result of your inquiries, affording in the meantime the protection of government to the village teachers in all their just rights and immunities, and marking, by some favourable distinction, any individual amongst them who may be recommended by superior merit or acquirements; for, humble as their situation may appear, if judged by a comparison with any corresponding character in this country, we understand those village teachers are held in great veneration throughout India." [Italics are ours.]

Mr. Howell comments on this as follows:

"There is no doubt that from *time immemorial* indigenous schools have existed, as here alleged. In Bengal alone, in 1835, Mr. Adam estimated their number to be 100,000; in Madras, upon an enquiry instituted by Sir Thomas Munro in 1822, the number of schools was reported to be 12,498, containing 188,650 scholars; and in Bombay Presidency, about the same period, schools of a similar order were found to be scattered all over it. It is much to be regretted that, as each province fell under our rule, the Government did not take advantage of the time when the prestige of conquest or gratitude for delivery from war and oppression were strong in the popular mind, to make the village school an important feature in

the *village system that was almost everywhere transmitted to us*." [Italics are ours.]

The second paragraph in the excerpt from the Education Despatch deserves special attention. Says Dr. Leitner: "Just as the introduction of specimens of the art-industry of India has tended largely to develop the present artistic taste among English workmen, so did the *methods of instruction pursued in indigenous schools influence the schools in England*."*

A Bengal Inspector of Schools, deputed to visit the schools of the Punjab in 1868, remarked in the course of his report:

"The indigenous education of India was founded on the sanction of the Shastras, which elevated it into religious duties and conferred dignity on the commonest transactions of everyday life. The existence of village communities which left not only their municipal, but also in part their revenue and judicial administrations, in the hands of the people themselves, greatly helped to spread education among all the different members of the community. He will see the fruits of the indigenous system in the numberless *pathshalas*, *chatsals* and *tols* which still overspread the country, and which, however wretched their present condition, prove by their continued existence, in spite of neglect, contempt, and other adverse circumstances of a thousand years, the strong stamina they acquired at their birth. At

* *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

the present day, the religious sanction is growing weak, the village communities are nearly gone, manufacturing industry has come to the verge of ruin, the heaviest incidence of taxation is falling upon land, and a foreign language has become the language of court and commerce. The natural incentives to popular education being thus weak, its progress will depend on the efforts of an enlightened Government inclined to compensate to the people for their losses under foreign rule. Until a healthy political, economical and social condition has been regained under the security of British administration, artificial stimulants must supply its place as well as they are able."*

Miss Mayo's malicious libel that Indians love ignorance and illiteracy is a lie which has no leg to stand upon. We read in Dr. Leitner's report: †

"I cannot forbear from bearing any testimony to the great desire and appreciation of education among all classes of the Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh communities, as also to the great talents which this 'land of the sun' has so prodigally bestowed among its children.... Now, as 3,000 years ago, the East is the home of mental discipline, culture and repose, where genius is as universal as it is ignored, in consequence chiefly of the want of publicity and of easy communication. Without these advantages we should now be behind the Orientals, whom we despise. The one intelligent European among a thousand of his dull

* *Ibid.*, p. 42.
† *Ibid.*, p. 85.

brethern is able to pass off his views and inventions as the embodiment of the civilization of his continent. When the whole East will have its cheap Press and railways—provided always that it does not seek to slavishly imitate the West in its reforms—it must resume the position it once held, owing to the native genius of its peoples."

One could cite more testimonies like that. But those given above will suffice; Miss Mayo must be more royalist than the King, if she thinks these British writers and administrators and the Directors of John Company were all pro-Hindu. However, to give the reader a more concrete and detailed idea we shall copy here Dr. Leitner's calculation regarding literacy in the Punjab in the days immediately preceding annexation by the British. Dr. Leitner in his day found a sad contrast with the wide-spread literacy of the pre-annexation days. On page 3 of his report we read:

"In backward districts, like that of Hushiarpur, the Settlement Report of 1852 shows a school to every 19.65 male inhabitants (adults and non-adults), which may be contrasted with the present proportion of one Government or Aided school to every 2,818.7 inhabitants."

Speaking of the entire province Leitner says:*

"Including the since-incorporated Delhi and Hissar Divisions, which now contain 4,476 towns and villages, there were, in 1854 (when an incom-

* *Ibid.*, p. 145.

plete census was taken), 33,355 towns and villages, and presumably the same number in 1849. Assuming, at least, the existence of 33,355 mosques, temples, *dharmsalas* and other sacred edifices in which some teaching was carried on (not to count the 3,372 indigenous secular schools which were ascertained to exist in 1854 or to speak of the large number of schools held in the houses of teachers), and giving each 'Collegium' of pupils an average attendance of 10, we shall get, at least, 333,550 persons under instruction in a province in which we have now about 113,000 assumed to attend Government and Aided schools, and a much smaller number in indigenous schools (according to the last census the total number 'under instruction' of every kind would only be 157,623). What the state of education was in the time of Ranjit Singh may be inferred from the enumeration of Sikh authors in a previous chapter. The list of men distinguished for learning in other denominations is even more lengthy; whilst the evidence of our own Administration and Settlement Reports (so far as I have been allowed to see them) is conclusive *as to the general spread* of the elements of education in the province."

The British rulers did India a grave wrong when they rooted out the useful old system, and did not even care to replace it by a new one. Dr. Leitner discusses the passing away of the old system in the Punjab, and concludes among other things*—

* *Ibid.*, p. 148.

(1) That elementary, and sometimes high, Oriental, classical and vernacular education was more widely spread in the Punjab before annexation than it was in his day.

(2) That the Board of Administration in the Punjab was ordered to resume rent-free tenures of land, even in the case of schools and religious edifices when their endowments were large, thus following the example of the land resumption in Bengal.

(3) That in consequence most of the endowments of indigenous schools were gradually destroyed.

(4) That the action of the *Educational Department of the Punjab, in spite of constant reminders, tended to destroy the indigenous schools whilst neglecting its own primary schools.*

This in the years of grace *circa* 1880.

Miss Mayo seems to imply that the chapter on the education of Hindu women must be something like the proverbial blank chapter on 'Snakes in Iceland.' Says she, 'The people of India, as has been shown'—presumably by the remarks of the discredited Abbé Dubois—'have steadfastly opposed the education of women.' This is lie No. 1 (in chapter XV). She adopts a characteristically wicked method of accounting for India's illiteracy. Of the 247,000,000 people in British India, 50 per cent. are women; so she excludes 123,000,000 from those who can be made literate.

Next she proceeds to exclude the '60 million untouchables.' This is lie No. 2.

We are just now concerned only with lie No. 1. We shall later on give the Hindu idea of the position of women. Here we are concerned only with the present-day problem of women's literacy.

Dr. Leitner, from whose valuable report we have already quoted so much, has some very illuminating observations to make on the education of women in the Punjab, during the period just preceding annexation by the British:*

"The Panjabi woman has, however, not only been always more or less educated herself, but she has also been an educator of others. In Delhi, for instance, we find that, before the annexation of the Punjab, six public schools for girls were kept by Panjabi women, who had emigrated to the South for this purpose."

"In other places, similarly, Panjabi women were to be found as teachers, just as the *Guru* or the *Padha* spread his instruction beyond the precincts of a province where he was becoming a drug in the market. Among Muhammadans, very many widows considered it a sacred duty to teach girls to read the Koran, and though Delhi, like the rest of the North-Western Provinces, was far behind the Punjab in female education, we find that it had in 1845 numerous schools for girls, kept in private houses."

* *Ibid.*, pp. 97-8.

The following from Dr. Leitner's evidence before the Education Commission of 1882 will give interesting details of the indigenous system for girls:*

"*Q*. 41. Is there indigenous instruction for girls in the province with which you are acquainted; and, if so, what is its character?

"*A*. 41. Yes; the wives of Maulvis and Bhais, for instance, are generally taught by their husbands and instruct their children up to a certain age in reading and religious duties. The wives of the respectable Muhammadans generally can also read and write (though the latter attainment is not so much encouraged as the former for reasons into which it is not necessary to enter). Some of the ladies are good Persian scholars, and in a distinguished Muhammadan family that I know, I have been given to understand that several of the ladies are excellent poets. The position of women is far higher among Muhammadans and Sikhs than is supposed, and there is no prejudice against their being educated, provided this can be done without interfering with the privacy of their domestic life. There are in proportion as many women that can read in Native States, where there has been no fuss made about female education, as there are in British territory, whilst in the latter also I have no doubt that many respectable women can read and write... There have always been indigenous schools for Sikh females in the districts between the Chenab and the Attock. That the

* *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

wives of priests should visit females of their community and teach them, is right and proper, but that girls, especially of a marriageable age, should cross bazaars in order to assemble in a school, is, I think, objectionable. Much reading of elementary religious books, sewing, embroidery, cooking with extreme care for the household, great neatness, tenderness in trouble, and gentle mediation in family disputes, constitute the chief features of female home rule and education in the better classes, who regard their female relatives with a respect and a religious affection of which we have not even the outward profession in Europe."

The British occupation was actually followed by a decline in women's education. That was the conclusion forced upon Dr. Leitner by facts brought out during his investigation. The causes of this decline, as they appeared to Dr. Leitner, are thus summarized in his blue-book :*

" There has been a decline in female teaching since annexation, for the following reasons :

(*a*) Formerly the mother could teach the child Panjabi. Now, wherever the child learns Urdu, the teaching power of the mother is lost.

(*b*) The weakening of the religious feeling has caused the decrease of all indigenous schools, including those conducted by women.

(*c*) Formerly a woman guilty of misconduct was criminally punished, so that the safeguards

* *Ibid.*, pp. 108-9.

against it were strong, and there could be less objection to granting women more education and greater freedom. Since the introduction of our law, adultery, for instance, can, comparatively speaking, be committed with impunity, and the necessary consequence is that the male population watches with greater jealousy any attempt towards emancipating the female sex.

(*d*) The female education given by us was avoided by the more respectable, because it too closely resembled that enjoyed by a class, which, if not criminal, to which our system is now reducing it, was not reputable...

(*e*) By keeping the female schools in public places, and by always attempting in spite of any pledges that may have been given at the commencement of the 'female education movement' to inspect them, thus preventing the very patrons of the schools from sending their own daughters to them.

Female education has, therefore, been brought into discredit with the respectable classes by official interference, which has already done so much mischief in the Punjab in various other respects, and which the boon of self-government given at the eleventh hour can alone remedy, provided all officials combine in a measure of temporary self-effacement for the sake of the common good."

These extensive quotations have been occasioned by extreme caution on our part. We

did not wish to give the impression that we were improvising facts to prove our thesis or to give the lie direct to Miss Mayo's ignorant but mischievous generalization. The least attention to the study of the subject forces one to the following conclusions:

(*i*) That from the earliest times there was a well-organized and wide-spread system of education throughout India.

(*ii*) That this system was a two-fold system—one for the aristocratic, cultured and priestly classes aiming at religious learning and culture, the other for the trading and working classes aiming at economic efficiency and dexterity in the use of tools—something akin to the system of apprenticeship in Tudor England.

(*iii*) That this system, as a part of our village system, had lasted as a living organization till the British occupancy of this country.

(*iv*) That this system was easily mistaken as a part of the body politic and uprooted by the British administrator, particularly anxious since the days of Lord Macaulay to create a class of subordinate officials and hirelings.

CHAPTER III

THE LIGHT THAT FAILED

We suppose the quotations we have given from British official publications and British writers make it abundantly clear that Miss Mayo's insinuations that before the advent of the British the Hindus had no system of education and that even now they are resisting all attempts to spread education and literacy are entirely misleading. In several provinces literacy was more widespread at the time the British took possession of them than it is to-day after 175 years of British rule. The old Indian system was admirably adapted to the genius and the needs of the people. The British of course did not destroy the old system without any aim in view. Their vandalism was for the greater part deliberate. To find out the motives underlying the educational policy we have to turn to its authors, the British administrators of the last century, and of the last years of the eighteenth century.

Charles Grant in his book on the education of the Indian people, published towards the end of the eighteenth century, remarked: "In the success [of the new educational policy] would lie our safety, not our danger." "We shall take the most rational means to remove inherent great disorders, *to attach the Hindu people to ourselves, to*

*ensure the safety of our possessions,** to enhance continually their value to us."

Some forty years later, Sir Charles Trevelyan, a relative of Lord Macaulay, who served John Company in various capacities and rose to be the Governor of Madras, and a member of the Supreme Council in India, discussed this question in his book, *On the Education of the People of India*, and came to the conclusion that a million sterling annually expended on the education of Indians would 'render them at once amenable to our rule and worthy of our alliance.' Very shrewdly he remarks:

" In following this course we should be trying no new experiment. The Romans at once civilized the nations of Europe and attached them to their rule by Romanizing them, or, in other words, by educating them in the Roman literature and arts and teaching them to emulate their conquerors instead of opposing them. Acquisitions made by superiority in war were consolidated by superiority in the arts of peace, and the remembrance of the original violence was lost in that of the benefits which resulted from it. The provincials of Italy, Spain, Africa and Gaul, having no ambition except to imitate the Romans, and share their privileges with them, remained to the last faithful subjects of the Empire, and the union was at last dissolved, not by internal revolt, but by the shock of external violence, which involved conquerors and conquered in one

* Chapter IV. Italics in these quotations are throughout ours.

common overthrow. *The Indians will, I hope, soon stand in the same position towards us in which we once stood towards the Romans.* Tacitus informs us that it was the policy of Julius Agricola to instruct the sons of leading men among the Britons in the literature and science of Rome and to give them a taste for the refinements of Roman civilization. We all know how well this plan answered. From being obstinate enemies, the Britons soon became attached and confiding friends; and they made more strenuous effort to retain the Romans than their ancestors had done to resist their invasion."

The Roman parallel was recalled also by Rev. Alexander Duff—the pioneer of English education in Bengal. In his paper, *An Exposition of the late Governor-General of India's Last Act*, published at about the same time as Trevelyan's book, he observed:

"When the Romans conquered a province, they forthwith set themselves to the task of Romanizing it; that is, they strove to create a taste for their own more refined language and literature, and thereby aimed at turning the song and the romance and the history, the thought and the feeling and the fancy, of the subjugated people into Roman channels which fed and augmented Roman interests. And has Rome not succeeded?"

Trevelyan thought the indigenous education would not make for the safety of the British Raj. He therefore wanted Indian youth to be nurtured on English education:

"*The spirit of English literature...cannot but be favourable to the English connection.* Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youth almost ceases to regard us as foreigners... From violent opponents...they are converted into zealous and intelligent co-operators with us."*

The political motive in this policy could not be more clearly emphasized.

And we have the more graphic and more quotable words of Trevelyan's more illustrious relation, Lord Macaulay :†

"We must at present do our best to form *a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.*"

The Rt. Hon. Charles Grant, whom we have already quoted, wanted to '*attach* our subjects by affection, by *interest*, by winning them to our religion, and our sentiments.' That, in his opinion, 'would have the effect of *rendering our authority permanent and secure.*'

With these political motives underlying the educational policy, it was in vain that H. H. Wilson, the great Sanskritist, protested :

"I have noticed for some time past repeated effusions in the Calcutta newspapers, advocating a departure from principles hitherto considered

* Minutes of 1835. †Evidence before Parl. Com., 1853.

sound and just, and recommending the exclusive encouragement of English as the first stage of a very feasible project for the annihilation of all the languages of India, vernacular or classical, and the universal use of our native tongue throughout the East. As long as the reveries were confined to the columns of a newspaper they were inoffensive or even amusing; they assumed more importance when, in order to prepare for the extermination of the languages, the suppression of the alphabets was seriously undertaken and Oriental works were printed in characters which the natives could not read."

These quotations leave no doubt as to what motives inspired the founders of the British-Indian educational policy. Their hostility to the prevailing systems of education sprang from political motives. The new system that they devised for India was intended not to help cultural or material progress of the Indian people, but merely to make the work of administration easy. Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, in a Minute he wrote in 1828, recorded:

"One of the chief objects...of diffusing education among the natives of India, is our increased power of associating them in every part of our administration. This I deem essential on grounds of economy, of improvement, and of security.

"I cannot look for reduction of expenses in the different branches of our Government from any diminution of the salaries now enjoyed by

European public servants, but I look to it from many of the duties they now have to perform being executed by natives on diminished salaries."

'Natives on diminished salaries' was the goal the educational system had in view! The authors of the Despatch of 1854 were driving at the same thing when they wrote:

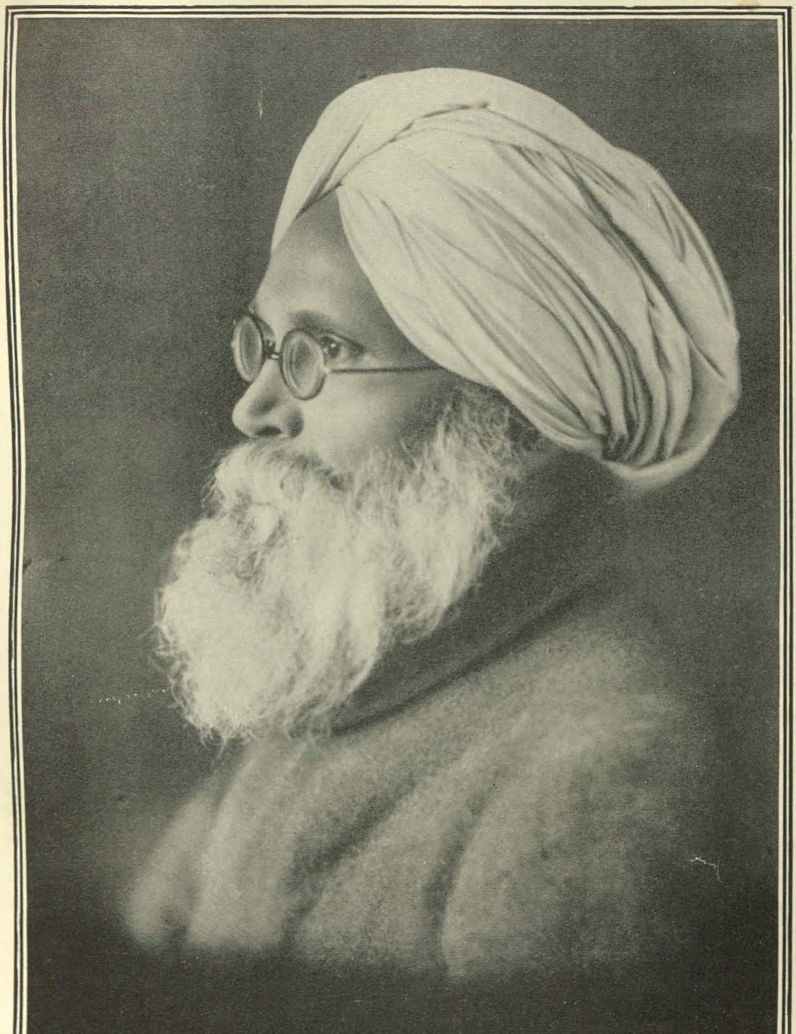
"We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government, and, on the other hand, we believe that the numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up may afford a great stimulus to education."

Sir John Malcolm in the course of the Minute from which we have already quoted said:

"From English schools being established at no place but Bombay the pay of writers and accountants is immoderately high, and when these move from the Presidency they require still higher wages; and when well qualified they can from their limited numbers, command almost any pay they demand. This introduces a tone of extravagance of demand from this class of persons in all our departments. Of some remedies of this evil I shall speak hereafter, but *the real mode to decrease price is to multiply the article.* English schools should be established or encouraged at Surat and Poona."

The British administrators aimed at producing the Give-Me-Office-or-Give-Me-Death type! The educational machine constructed by them was admirably suited to this end.

Add to this the fact that the British Government in India pursued a deliberate policy of destroying Indian industry. Lancashire arose on the ashes of the Indian cotton industry. In the name of 'Free Trade' they refused to afford protection to the infant industries, and prevented their development. The banking policy, the currency manipulation, have meant no small handicap to the Indian manufacturer. Recent advances in science that have revolutionized agriculture elsewhere have not benefited Indian agriculture to any appreciable extent. The Indian Government seems to be beginning to take some interest in practical scientific agriculture, but hitherto the few agricultural institutes that we have, produced graduates more proficient in theory than in practical knowledge. I believe it was the late Sir Ganga Ram—'that fine old Punjabi,' as Miss Mayo calls him—who, while speaking at the Agricultural College, Lyallpur, a few years ago, narrated the painful fact that graduates in agriculture of that institution sometimes approached him to get chits for jobs in the police department Such being the condition of agriculture and industries, is it any wonder that young educated Indians depend so much on clerical jobs under the bureaucracy?



MAHATMA HANS RAJ OF LAHORE.

He has devoted his whole life over 40 years of service now to the cause of education in the Punjab.



Principal RAM DEVA of Gurukul Kangri.
He has served his whole life on a mere pittance.

CHAPTER IV

LEARNING AND EARNING—AND HARD HEADED AMERICANS

It is always easy to talk of education for education's sake, but surely it does not lie in the mouth of an American to indulge in that cant. The ancient Hindu ideal in this respect was much higher and nobler than the present European or American ideal. In the West the chief values are money values—in the United States of Miss Mayo they may be said to be almost the sole values. Even universities are judged by the amount of money spent on, and provided for them. The typical American is a creature of money, judging everything by its money value. The cost of production, whether of a book, a picture, a film, or a play or even a university, is the real and the only understandable test of its value. Electric signs in Broadway, New York, in Chicago, in Philadelphia, in San Francisco and every other big town abound with announcements of a million dollar productions. A certain multi-millionaire couple took it into their heads to perpetuate the memory of their deceased son by establishing a university and naming it after him. They undertook a tour of the United States to inspect its various centres of university activities and to select a model for the proposed memorial. Everywhere they made it a point to enquire about the total cost of the

university,—permanent and recurring. At the entrance of a famous university library in Massachusetts they put the same question to the gentleman who was showing them the different departments of the institution, and the husband was overheard saying to his wife, 'Dear, we can do this,' i.e., build a university involving the cost of the one they were inspecting! The university established by them is a well-known educational institution in the West but its chief claim to the gratitude of humanity is its money cost. The average American is only interested in making money or in spending it when made.

The sermon of education for education's sake is so often preached to us by men in high position who ought to know better that it will not be out of place to discuss it at some length, though I am afraid I cannot burden this book with too many quotations on this subject. I will ask the reader's indulgence for a quotation from my own book, *The Problem of National Education in India*, so frequently quoted by Miss Mayo herself.* In chapter XII of that book I discussed the 'Money Value of Education,' quoting largely from the United States Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 22 of 1927 (called 'Money Value of Education'). Introducing the excerpts from that Bulletin I said in my book:

" The first requisite of an efficient system of national education is that it enables every citizen

**The Problem of National Education in India,* George Allen and Unwin, London, 1920.

to live better, and to help others in living better. To live well, one requires a certain minimum of food, clothing, shelter, leisure, recreation, and means for the satisfaction of higher tastes and higher cravings. A nation which does not secure enough to enable every one of its members to live well, is a drag on the rest of the world. But when a nation of 315 millions of human beings, as well developed as the Indians, in possession of a country so rich in soil as that of India, with abundant natural resources of all kinds, cannot produce sufficient to satisfy even the minimum demands of half of its population, it is a sight for the gods to weep at. India's phenomenal proverty is one of the tragic facts of its life; and it is mainly due to the lack of means of education.

" Under the circumstances, the first aim of all publicly imparted education in India should be to increase the productive capacity of its citizens. Education is the first necessity of such a nation, and it should be the first charge on all national revenues. The nation should strive every nerve to go without all *luxuries*, nay, even without secondary necessities, in order to place this first necessity of national life within the reach of every boy and girl, and of every adult capable of learning. This is only possible by a general widespread system of vocational education, and by a general dissemination of practical, scientific knowledge applicable to the ordinary needs of life and vocational efficiency.

" Such a wide-spread system of education requires huge funds. These funds are to be

furnished (*a*) from existing revenues, (*b*) from new taxes, (*c*) by practising economy in other departments of public administration, (*d*) and from national or provincial loans. In order to prepare the public mind to meet the demands for funds for education, it is necessary to bring home to the people 'the material and measurable rewards of education.' "

The last words, within quotation marks, are the words of the American Bulletin. Then follow the results of the world-wide investigation on the subject made by Dr. A. Caswell Ellis, Professor of Philosophy of Education in the University of Texas, with reference to Germany, Japan and Russia, the United States and other countries. Speaking of Germany he says:

" The concrete evidence of the effect of education in increasing industrial efficiency is overwhelming, whether considered from the national standpoint or from that of the individual citizen. For example, how else to account for the fact that a nation like Germany, with limited natural resources, but with excellent public schools, has grown in wealth and power so much more rapidly than her neighbour, Russia, which has a vigorous and talented national stock and vastly better resources but poor educational facilities? That the phenomenal success of Germany is the direct result of her thorough educational system is generally admitted."

About the United States he tells us:

"The relation of productive power to education is shown by the enormously increased rate of production that has come about everywhere since education became more generally diffused. The total wealth accumulated in America from 1492 to 1860, a period of 368 years, was $514 per capita. From then till 1904, a period of only 44 years, this increased to $1,318 per capita, or an addition in 44 years of $804...

'Since that time the increase has been even more striking. This increase is partly due to increased valuations or the smaller purchasing power of the dollar; to the use of accumulated capital, and to many other things; but after due allowance is made for all these the conclusion is inevitable that the education of the nation is largely responsible for vastly increasing the productive power of its citizens. The productive power of illiterate countries is not increasing at such rates."

Dr. Caswell Ellis rightly holds that natural resources are worthless without education. The Indian Government alone refuses to recognize that the grinding poverty of the people of India is mostly due to their ignorance and illiteracy, and that for this appalling ignorance and illiteracy the British Government of India is *wholly* responsible. The Government of India has never seen that—

"the efficiency of an illiterate people in competition with an educated nation is as the crooked stick against the sulky plough; the sickle against the reaper; the bullock cart against the express

train, the ocean greyhound, and the aeroplane; the pony messenger against the telegraph, telephone, and wireless; the individual harangue against the printing press, the newspaper, the library; the spinning-wheel against the factory; the pine faggot against the electric light; the peddling of skins and herbs from the ox-cart against the bank, the cheque book, the railroad, the department store; the log hut against the steel skyscraper; the unaided eye against the microscope and telescope; incantations and magic against the chemist, the hospital, the modern physician and surgeon. Take away from one entire generation all education, and society must revert to the stick plough, the ox-cart, and such primitive means, because steel implements, locomotives, steamships, electricity, telephones, telegraph, waterworks, steel buildings, mining and chemical industries, factories, modern sanitation, hygiene and medicine, books, newspapers, courts of justice, and laws that protect property and defend the rights of the weak are all impossible without education, and are efficient only in proportion as educated intelligence is applied to them."*

Instead of carrying on a propaganda showing the money value of education, like the one carried on by the United States Government, the high officials of the Government of India are constantly bemoaning the tendency of the people of India to judge the value of education by its material returns. What a difference there is between a

*Dr. A. Caswell Ellis, *op. cit.*

national government and a foreign government of exploiters imposed from without!

On page 184 Miss Mayo, commenting on a quotation from my book, *The Problem of National Education*, writes:

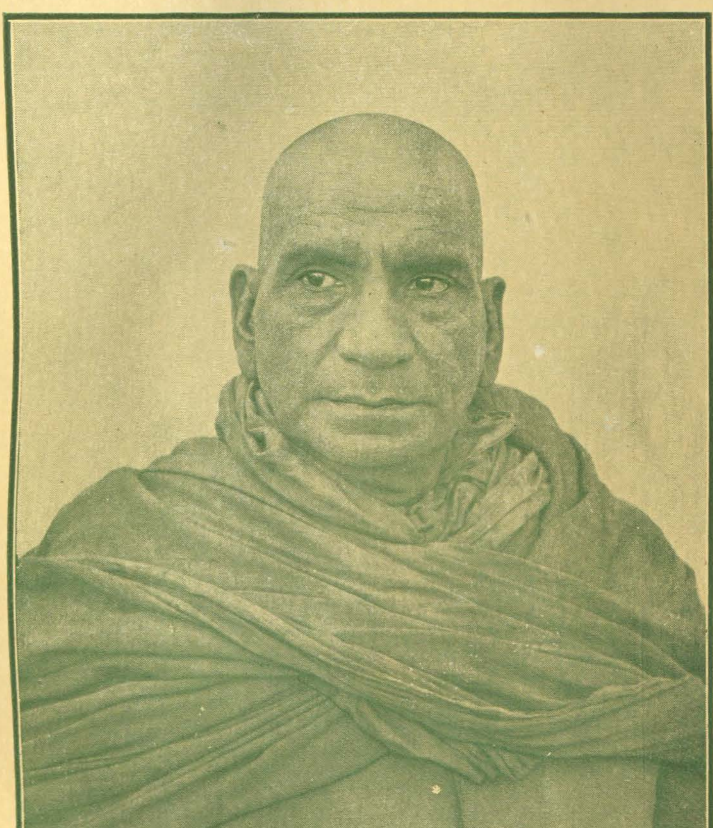
"In 1923-24, India's total expenditure of public funds on education, including municipal, local, Provincial and Central Government contributions, reached 19.9 crores of rupees, or £13,820,000. This sum is much too small for the work to be done. Nevertheless, when taken in relation to the total revenue of British India, it compares not unfavourably with the educational allotments of other countries."

This is Miss Mayo's characteristic way of dealing with figures. She not only includes municipal and local contributions *but also the income from tuition fees and private endowments.* The total contribution of the government from Central and Provincial funds in 1923-24 was only Rs. 9,74,76,000, i.e., less than one half of the total amount.

In 1924-25—later figures are not yet available—it was Rs. 9,98,02,000 out of a total from all sources of Rs. 20,87,48,000. In the official report for 1924-25 it is observed (page 4): "The total expenditure by Government on education in India is Rs. 9,98,01,594, a sum which represents only four annas per head [about 4d. in British currency and about 8 cents in American currency]...Meanwhile the percentage of the total expenditure on

education borne by Government has declined from 48.9 to 47.9, while the contribution from fees has risen from 21.8 to 22.4." For less than 50,000 European pupils in all stages of instruction in India nearly Rs. 50 lakhs are spent annually *from the government funds alone.* This gives an annual sum of about Rs. 100 per pupil. Distributed over the entire European population in India—less than 2 lakhs of souls—it gives you more than Rs. 25 per head per year. Compare it with the beggarly four annas per head spent on the education of the Indian population! It is unthinkable that any national government could ever treat education so shabbily as the present government in India is doing. Leave aside the rich and resourceful governments of America, Britain and France. Even then you know what the enlightened Calles government is doing in a poor country like Mexico. Can the Indian government's effort compare even with that of the Mexican government?*

* Mr. J. W. Brown in his recent book on *Modern Mexico* (Labour Publishing Co., 1927) says that the '28 Mexican States are now spending 40 per cent. of their budgets on education, in addition to what the Federal Government does.'



The late SWAMI SHRADDHANAND
He devoted all his life and fortune for social and educational service and died from the hand of a Muslim Assassin.

CHAPTER V

A COUNSEL OF PERFECTION

Private agency in India has done, and is doing a good deal for the spread of literacy as also for higher and technical education. The late Mr. J. N. Tata spent a good part of his fortune in making provision for higher scientific education. The Bangalore Science Institute owes its existence to him. The Bose Institute, the Calcutta Technological Institute (with which the well-known Chemist, Dr. P. C. Ray is connected), the National Medical College, all owe their existence solely or mainly to private effort. Even official universities owe a good deal to the munificence of people like Sir Gooroodas Banerjee. The Hindu University of Benares not only has arrangements for high class literary education but also runs an Engineering college. But Miss Mayo gives you the impression that Indians themselves are doing nothing for the spread of education, and blames the Indian Nationalists for unfairly criticising the British administration for a supposed neglect of duty. Her charge against educated Indians, as usual, rests on a talk, she says, she had with a Bengali lawyer of unknown identity, who made good money at the Bar but gave no attention to the education or sanitation of his village.

In the introductory chapter of my book, *The Problem of National Education in India*, I gave a

resume of what had till then (1918) been attempted by private enterprise in the matter. But when all is said, it is no use denying that education is mainly the business of the State of the first and foremost importance. Private effort, however earnest, is utterly helpless to meet the educational requirements of a modern nation. In chapter V of my book on education I gave copious extracts from the then recent speeches of the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, at that time President of the British Board of Education, to emphasize how in all the civilized countries education in all its branches is regarded to-day as the business of the State. It is the right as well as the duty of the State to see that the citizens do not grow up illiterate and uneducated. In one of his speeches Mr. Fisher, Britain's leading authority on educational problem, said:*

"But though the State cannot forbid wage-earning among young people [why?] it should and must assign a value to learning as well as to earning. *It has a right and a duty to affirm that it believes in education for the masses*, and that by education it means not a sham and make-believe, but something substantial, something which will leave a durable mark on mind and character, and that the claim of this education on the child is paramount... The State should not allow itself to be diverted from its great object of diffusing knowledge and intelligence among the people by the fear of being involved in some expenditure based on personal circumstances. It should first

*In quoting from Fisher's speeches I am using the material in chapter V of my *Problem of National Education in India*.

devise a course of education, as thorough and effective as the object demands and the available means of instruction furnish, and then, having settled on a plan likely to give to each of its citizens the fullest chance for self-development. it should be prepared to give adequate assistance in special cases." [Italics are ours.]

Adequate education for the masses is a *right* as well as a *duty* of the State. So it is not the Indian politicians only who demand that education 'should be driven into the...masses by compulsory measures.' British statesmen also affirm the same thing about their own country.

We get a glimpse of the educational ideals that the modern statesman has before him in the further excerpts from Mr. Fisher's speeches, which I made originally for my book on education:

"The province of popular education is to equip the men and women of this country for the tasks of citizenship. All are called upon to live, many are called upon to die, for the community of which they form a part. That they should be rescued from the dumb helplessness of ignorance is, if not a precept of the eternal conscience, at least an elementary part of political prudence, to which the prospective enfranchisement of several million new voters...adds a singular emphasis. But the argument does not rest upon grounds of political prudence alone, but upon the right of human beings to be considered as ends in themselves and to be entitled, so far as our imperfect social arrangements may permit, to know and enjoy all the best

that life can offer in the sphere of knowledge, emotion and hope."

Speaking at Bradford Mr. Fisher said:

"When I began my survey of national education I was struck—as I suppose everybody is struck—by the fact that there are millions and millions of men and women in this country [Great Britain]—who are not getting as much out of life as life can afford to give them. There are millions of men and women who derive no profit from books, no pleasure from music or pictures, very little cultivated joy from the ordinary beauties of nature. They pass their life bound down to dull mechanical toil, harnessed to iron and steel, without a gleam of poetry, without a touch of imagination, without the faintest sense of the glories and splendours of the world in which we live, unable to attach to their ordinary dull task the interest which belongs to a scientific appreciation of the principles upon which that task is founded, unable equally to turn their leisure to any rational or cultivated account, and I ask myself this: Ought we to be content with a state of civilization in which these things are possible, and should it not be part of our duty so to provide for posterity that they may have within their reach a happier, more cultivated, and wider life?"

Again he expressed the same ambition when he said in the House of Commons:

"What is it that we desire, in a broad way, for our people? That they should be good citizens,

reverent and dutiful, sound in mind and body, skilled in the practice of their several avocations, and capable of turning their leisure to a rational use."

In making a plea for an additional grant for education (1917), after citing the figures relating to the expenditure on education in England—some £16,000,000 paid out of the taxes, another £17,000,000 out of the rates and perhaps £7,000,000 out of fees, voluntary contributions and endowments, making a total of £40,000,000, or 60 crores of rupees in Indian coin, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Fisher rightly pointed out: "But when we are considering a form of productive expenditure which is *not only an investment but an insurance*, that question cannot stand alone. We must ask a supplementary question. We must ask not only whether we can afford to spend the money." And he called the 'supplementary' question the 'more important and more searching.' In spite of the universal cry for 'economy' Mr. Fisher maintained that 'we should economize in the "human capital" of the country, our most precious possession, which we have too long suffered to run to waste.'

Some of the passages in Mr. Fisher's speeches are very relevant to those trying to find out how far national efficiency to-day depends on adequate mass education. While introducing a new Education Bill on August 10, 1917, when England was in the midst of the titanic struggle of the World War, Mr. Fisher discussed some aspects of this question:

" Attention has been increasingly directed to the close connection between educational and physical efficiency. One of the great dates in our social history is the establishment of the school medical service in 1907. We now know what we should not otherwise have known, how greatly the value of our educational system is impaired by the low physical condition of a vast number of the children, and how imperative is the necessity of raising the general standard of physical health among the children of the poor, if the great part of the money spent on our educational system is not to be wasted."

To Mr. Fisher one of the lessons of the War was the clear indication of how education improves national efficiency. Speaking at Bradford he said:

" Have you ever reflected, ladies and gentlemen, upon the astonishing influence which education has exercised over the course of this titanic conflict? how those countries have best succeeded who have equipped themselves with a modern provision of education, and how those countries have succeeded least who have been most backward in their provision of popular education? I suppose there has never been a war in which the contending armies have been so well educated, or in which the contending armies have owed so much to science and education. And whether you talk to the officers at the front—who will all speak to you of the value which they attach to a well-educated non-commissioned officer or private—or

whether you go to the headquarters staff, or whether you go to the great munition factories and sources of military supply, you always have the same answer to the same question. Always you will be told that *education is the keynote of efficiency*." [Italics are ours.]

Miss Mayo has ventured to offer some remarks on learning and earning. She tries to concentrate her scorn for Indians in her chapter head, 'Give Me Office or Give Me Death.' Infinitely nobler is the following from Mr. Fisher's Manchester speech:

"I venture to plead for a state of society in which learning comes first and earning comes second among the obligations of youth, not for one class only but for all young people. At present the rich learn and the poor earn.

"Education is the eternal debt which maturity owes to youth. Now I do not care whether youth be poor or rich, we owe it education—all the education which it can afford to receive and all the education which we can afford to give."

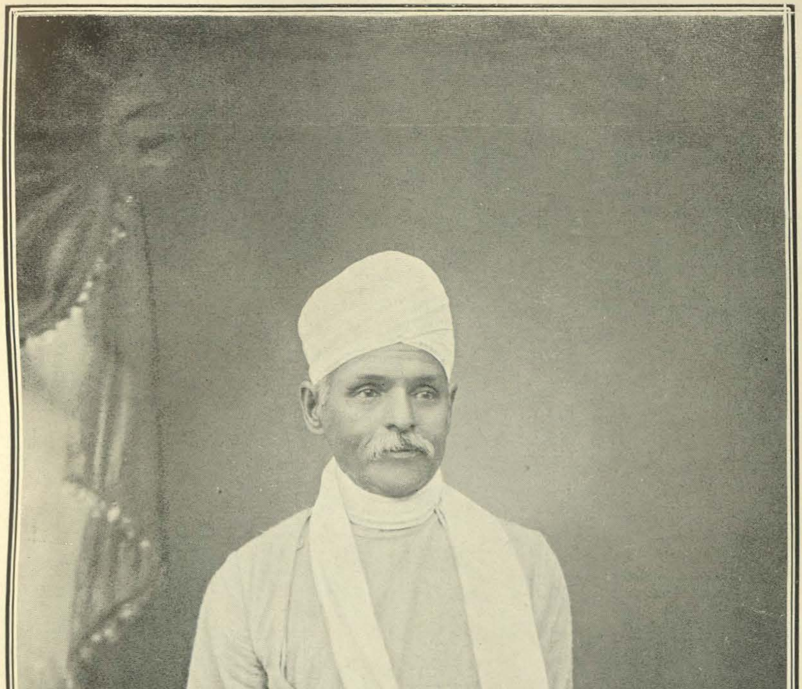
It is no use expecting youth to put learning before earning where the eternal debt of education is so inadequately discharged as in India under British administration.

One would have thought that coming from America Miss Mayo would bring to bear on the problem of education in India a broad and en-

lightened outlook. But her sole object was to whitewash British rule and to denounce Indians. She makes much of the fact that by the Reforms of 1919 education is a Transferred subject in charge of Indian Ministers and that now the responsibility of neglecting it lies on their shoulders. Here again she has shown an utter lack of understanding of the real problem. She has failed to see that the Indian Ministers are not quite free agents in the matter. Nationalist India has been crying itself hoarse over the unjust distribution of revenues between the Reserved and the Transferred subjects. The latter have no chance of being rapidly improved, because the distribution of revenues rests neither with the representatives of the people nor with the Ministers, but with the autocratic executive. The top-heavy administration which readily sanctions an addition of over a crore of rupees to the already exorbitant emoluments of the Imperial services and which has been spending about eighty crores per year on the military has never allowed sufficient money to the nation-building departments made over to the Ministers. Says Mr. Richey, the Education Commissioner to the Government of India:*

"The straitened finances of the central and local governments of India at the present time preclude any hope of striking educational developments in the immediate future. The new provincial ministries of education, after successfully combating the attack on their schools, are now

* Para. 39 of the Eighth Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, volume I.



PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.
Founder of the Hindu University, Benares, and Uncrowned King of Hindu India.



GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE.

13—65

taking stock of their educational position with a view to systematic advance when the necessary funds are forthcoming. In such an advance, it is evident from the keen interest shown by the new Councils, they will have the support of public opinion..."

In England a Fisher might tell his people that education is an investment even in the time of the Great War. The universal cry of economy would not deter him from planning out new and big programmes of mass education. If he were an Indian Minister he would be told by Mr. Richey, 'There is no short cut to educational reform.'

That the Ministers' chief difficulty is that of finding finances is again made clear by Mr. Richey when he says:*

"The financial inequalities of the provinces cannot but profoundly affect their educational policies. While Bombay with its large and growing revenues can contemplate the early and general introduction of compulsory primary education, it is out of the question for Bengal with its restricted and inelastic resources to consider any such project. Since a well-organized system of education is one of the most potent factors in economic, social and political development the ultimate effect of such provincial divergencies can hardly be over-estimated."

* Para. 20 of the Eighth Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, volume I.

Commenting on the excerpts from Mr. Fisher's speeches I wrote in my book :*

" To us in India Mr. Fisher's words are of greater significance than those of educators, equally well placed, of other countries, because of our political connection with England. Here is the chief educational authority of the Empire laying down certain principles and expounding truths which are, according to him of general application in all self-respecting, progressively-minded communities. We, the Indians in India, are not yet free to determine our educational policy. Even with the promise of educational autonomy to the provinces, the last word will practically remain with the Imperial Government. The progress of popular education in India must, for a long time, depend on the goodwill of the British officials in charge of policies and vested with powers over revenues and funds."

The words are as true to-day as they were in 1918. Having studied the educational policies of the various civilized nations of the world I stated in my book on Indian education certain general principles which I may here summarize :

1. National education, being the surest and the most profitable national investment, is as necessary for national safety as the military provision for physical defence. Universal popular education must be provided for by the State, and should be the first charge on State revenues. Any attempt to provide for nation-wide education by

* *National Education in India*, pp. 104 *et seq.*

private agencies and private funds is futile, and to attempt it is to attempt the impossible. Moreover it diverts public attention from the duty of the State. A national system of education must be provided for, enforced, financed and controlled by the nation, and in performing that function the nation must be represented by the State.

2. The old idea that the State was concerned with making provision for elementary education alone is also gone. All over the world it is recognized that the duty of the State does not end with elementary education. The economic and industrial efficiency of the nation depends upon technical and industrial education, and that also must be provided for by the State. Nor can the State ignore the necessity of higher education, for intelligent and efficient leadership depends on that.*

3. Education does not consist in imparting a certain amount of book knowledge and teaching the three R's. It includes provision for the physical development of the young. It embraces a provision for the general health of the child, including feeding, if necessary, to such an extent as to ensure the fullest benefit to the child from the provision for his education made by the State.

* The United States Federal Government in 1923-24 spent $1,808,321,420 on academic education alone as compared with $555,077,146 spent in 1913, and from 1918 to 1926 the Federal Government alone spent about 38 million dollars on vocational education and now spends over 7 million dollars every year. See *American Year Book*, pp. 1072 and 1110.

4. In short, the duty of bringing up and educating the child with a view to helping him to become an efficient, intelligent and prudent citizen rests with the State and the State must be made to fulfil it. It no longer depends on the capacity or willingness of the parents.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY OF COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION

The history of compulsory primary education in India is sufficiently illustrative of the step-motherly intentions of the British Indian Government. The first Bill for this reform was introduced by the late Mr. Gokhale in the old Imperial Legislative Council in 1911. It was opposed by the Government on the usual specious grounds: 'time is not yet for such a measure,' 'funds are not available to meet the necessary expenses,' 'the masses are opposed to compulsion on religious grounds,' etc.

The second attempt was made in 1916 by the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel, whose Bill sought permission for certain advanced portions of the Presidency of Bombay to introduce legislation through municipalities for making primary education free and compulsory if the local authorities so desired and if they were willing to abide by certain conditions laid down by the Government. The Bill was thrown out by the official majority in the Bombay Provincial Council on the pretext that the passage of such a Bill would be a violation of the educational policy of the Imperial Government, which had declared in 1913 'that time for such compulsory legislation in primary education has not yet arrived.'

The subsequent history is given in paras. 190 and 191 of the Education Report for 1917-1922, which shows that in most cases the initiative in pressing these measures was taken by a Hindu member. The working of the compulsory primary education measure has been left to the discretion of local bodies. In speaking of the working of this measure Miss Mayo quotes one paragraph from Mr. Richey's report relating to the Punjab. She very wisely omits to mention the progress made in other provinces and also of the reasons why progress has not been more rapid. For example, in para. 195 Mr. Richey observes :

"Compulsion has been introduced under the Act of 1920 in a number of wards in the city of Bombay. There has been a fifty per cent. increase in the number of schools and school-children, and in the number of trained teachers and a proportional increase in the general and medical inspectorate; a novel feature has been the appointment of lady superintendents. The total expenditure on education in the municipality has increased 350 per cent."

The statement made by Miss Mayo on page 176 about 'the Hindu element in the Punjab Legislative Council' having attempted to exempt from school attendance all 'untouchables' otherwise known as 'depressed classes' is a lie, pure and simple. On the other hand, the following questions and answers taken from the proceedings of the Punjab Legislative Council for 1922-23 will show how keenly the Hindu members have

interested themselves in the cause of the depressed classes:

Q. 2211. *Lala Atma Ram:*

(*a*) Will Government be pleased to enquire as to what is being done by other provincial governments to ameliorate the educational condition of the depressed classes?

(*b*) Will Government be pleased to consider the advisability of ameliorating their educational condition by means of special scholarships and stipends in the Primary and Secondary Schools of the Punjab?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, the Government Minister for Education:

(*a*) Enquiry has been made from other provincial governments whose replies are awaited.

(*b*) The education of the depressed classes is already engaging the attention of the Government which has taken two steps in the direction of encouragement. Aid and recognition have been given to the training classes for the depressed classes at Moga, and under the new grant-in-aid rules increased financial assistance may be given to private schools which entertain trained teachers. Government has also laid down the principle that its grants for the introduction of compulsory education are meant for the benefit of all classes of the community without any exception, but it is for the local bodies concerned to decide how the education of the depressed classes should be

provided for, whether in separate schools or in the ordinary schools. Government does not desire to lay down any rigid rules.

As early as January 1922 (the Reformed Councils began to operate only from 1921) Mr. K. L. Rallia Ram moved a resolution asking the Government to set apart a sum of 10 lakhs for the benefit of the depressed classes. An amendment was proposed to reduce the sum to 3 lakhs. Rao Bahadur Lt. Balbir Singh and Mr. Motilal Kaistha, Hindu members of the Council, opposed the amendment and supported the original resolution. This resolution was opposed on behalf of the Government, but, the latter giving an assurance of sympathetic consideration, was withdrawn. In 1923 again a Hindu member asked the following question:

" *Q*. 2721. *Rai Sahib Lala Thakur Das*:

Will Government be pleased to state:

"(*a*) what has been done since 1st January, 1921 for the education of the depressed classes;

"(*b*) how much money has been spent in this behalf since January 1st, 1921, up till now, and also how much it is proposed to be spent during the remainder of the current financial year;

"(*c*) what results have been achieved so far?

" *The Honourable Khan Bahadur Sir Fazl-i-Hussain:*

It is hoped that the information required by the honourable member will be found in a circular letter, a copy of which is laid on the table."

The last paragraph of the circular letter referred to in the above answer is worth quoting:

"The Minister desires to take this opportunity of expressing his appreciation of the efforts made by local bodies and philanthropic societies on behalf of depressed classes and communities; and he is anxious, even in this time of acute financial stringency, to afford them all the encouragement and assistance at his command. In this noble work, he relies much on the co-operation of private effort; and much also on the desire of the community to help itself, a desire which has already expressed itself in some parts of the province. He trusts, therefore, that the satisfactory results of the last few years are merely a prelude to a far greater improvement in the near future, and that the Punjab will rise to its opportunities and will, as a whole, take a lead in the removal of illiteracy and ignorance from its midst, and in the breaking down of the barriers between the depressed classes and those more fortunately circumstanced in life."

This is only with regard to one province. Similar efforts have been made in other provinces by Hindus of light and leading to uplift and educate the depressed classes. Yet Miss Mayo deliberately tries to give an impression that the Hindus are opposed to this. As one engaged in this work I can say that lakhs of rupees have been spent by me and my co-workers on this work ever since I returned from America in 1920. I started on this work as early as 1910 with large donations from my own purse.

CHAPTER VII

'WHY IS LIGHT DENIED?'

Miss Mayo ignores all these facts recorded in the Indian Government's own official documents. Sober truth does not produce shilling shockers. For these the *Mother India* method of putting down everything to the exaggerated sexuality of Indians comes so handy. In her chapter, 'Why is Light Denied?' Miss Mayo tries to account for the wide-spread illiteracy in India. Village education cannot be undertaken without women teachers, she tells us. And women teachers would not go out to villages, for 'Indian women of child-bearing age cannot safely venture without special protection, within reach of Indian men.'* This wicked libel on the Indian nation is totally unwarranted. In sex morality the average Indian villager is infinitely firmer, stronger and nobler than men in Europe and America. I say this after experience of nearly half the inhabited world. Miss Mayo quotes in her support a sentence from the *Calcutta University Commission Report*, which in her context passes for the opinion of the Commission

* *Mother India*, p. 186.

themselves,* whilst the fact is that Miss Mayo's excerpt is part of a paragraph *quoted* by the Commission. Their own remarks are confined to saying that 'the lot of the women teacher is made extraordinarily hard *by the prejudices which environ her.*' The words italicised by us are something substantially different from the contention Miss Mayo seeks to support. They also give the real meaning of the passage from the witness's evidence—which Miss Mayo has cited as the Commission's opinion—deploring the lack of a sense of 'chivalry and respect' for a woman who does not live in the zenana. Rightly or wrongly zenana-life is the test of respectability in rural Bengal.† Does this statement, made with reference to Bengal only, justify the sweeping accusation that Miss Mayo makes against all Indians?

Equally wicked and malicious is the statement ascribed to the head of an American Mission College in Northern India. There is no means of verifying its authenticity.

On page 191 Miss Mayo quotes from *The Education of India*, by Mr. Arthur Mayhew, late Director of Public Instruction in the Central

* "The Calcutta University Commission...expressed the point as follows: 'The fact has to be faced that until Bengali men generally learn the rudiments of respect and chivalry toward women who are not living in zenanas, anything like a service of women teachers will be impossible.'" (*Mother India*, p. 188).

† Though not very much in the towns, nor in Madras and several other provinces, as admitted by Miss Mayo herself.

Provinces. In quoting Mr. Mayhew she omits just a few words to convey a wrong impression. Let the pillory of parallel columns expose her trick:

"A far more serious objection is the difficulty...to safeguard these ladies who take up work outside the family circle. Their employment without offence or lapse seems possible only in mission settlements and schools under close supervision. In a general campaign they [widows] can play only an insignificant part." [As found in *Mother India.*]	"A far more serious objection is the difficulty *of providing suitable residence and companions, in order* to safeguard these ladies who take up work outside the family circle. Their employment without offence or lapse seems possible only in mission settlements and schools under close supervision. In a general campaign they [widows] can play only an insignificant part." [As in the original.]

Dishonest dots! How by keeping out just four words they give quite a different meaning to the passage! But it is a trick of the trade Miss Mayo specialises in. That an Indian widow going out to an out of the way village cannot live without suitable residence and wihout companions certainly does not mean that being of 'child-bearing age' she 'cannot safely venture within reach of Indian men.'

The nature of the prejudice against women teachers is described thus in the Census Report for the U. P. in a passage cited by Miss Mayo:*

"It is said that there is a feeling that the calling cannot be pursued by modest women. *Prima facie*, it is difficult to see how such a feeling could arise, but the Indian argument to support it would take, probably, some such form as this: 'The life's object of woman is marriage; if she is

* *Census of India*, 1911, vol. XV, p. 229.

married her household duties prevent her teaching. If she teaches, she can have no household duties or else she neglects them. If she has no household duties she must be unmarried, and the only unmarried women are no better than they should be. If she neglects her household duties, she is, though in a different way, no better than she should be!"

Perhaps the real strong reason for the paucity of women teachers is that there are no spinsters in India.*

The sex ratio in Great Britain and other European countries gives rise to certain complications, no doubt. But it also provides a contingent of women teachers who do useful work. In India the sex ratio leaves no army of spinster teachers. The *married* woman teacher is not so common in several European countries. We understand in the post-War years educational authorities in the United Kingdom have been imposing restrictions afresh to discourage the married woman teacher.

It is notoriously difficult, says Miss Mayo, quoting the authority of the *Qinquennial Review of Education in Eastern Assam and Bengal*, 'to

*"It is safe to say that after the age of seventeen or eighteen no females are unmarried who are not prostitutes or persons suffering from some bodily affliction such as leprosy or blindness; the number of genuine spinsters over twenty is exceedingly small, and an old maid is the rarest of phenomena!" (*Census of India, 1911*, vol. XV, *re* the United Provinces, p. 229.)

induce women of good position, other than Christians and Brahmos, to undergo training for the teaching profession; and even of those who are trained...the majority refuse to go to places where they are wanted.'

Yes. But how could 'women of good position' be induced to go to distant villages when the scale of pay for the village primary schools is so low? Says Mr. Richey,* in the *Eighth Quinquennial Review on Education* (covering the years 1917-22): 'The rise in cost does undoubtedly represent in most provinces a real improvement in the conditions of the teaching profession...According to the latest scales introduced in April 1921 [in the U. P.] untrained assistants receive as a minimum Rs. 12 [$5.00] *per mensem*, trained assistants Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 [$5.00 to $6.50] and headmasters Rs. 20 rising to Rs. 30.' In Madras, it is stated, the pay has been raised to Rs. 10 (about $3.00) a month for untrained teachers and Rs. 12 a month for trained ones. In Bengal the estimated pay is Rs. 8 to Rs. 16 per mensem. In Assam, for trained teachers the minimum monthly pay has been raised from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12. So on for other provinces. We know as a fact, before this 'real improvement' was effected, primary school teachers used to be paid Rs. 6 to Rs. 8—a scale of wages lower than that of coolies! While a man might have managed to eke out this miserable scale of income by other work, a woman may not. So Rs. 6 to Rs. 12 a month determines the

*Paras. 202 *et. seq.*

ability and the skill in the teaching staff insisted upon by Mr. Paul.*

When Miss Mayo speaks of the Indian village school teacher as a 'dreary incompetent,' and as a 'heavy blanket slopped down' upon a helpless mass of weaklings she has to keep in mind that one month's wage of the village teacher is in general not enough to buy a copy *Mother India.* You cannot get 20 dollars worth of competence if you pay only 2 dollars a month.†

There is a moral to Miss Mayo's story of Indian education, which is sought to be brought home to the reader by two contrasted pen-pictures In the first of these, with which the chapter, "A Counsel of Perfection," opens, we are shown a "respected Hindu nobleman," of unknown identity whom she charges with having neglected his village home with its 'disease, dirt and ignorance,' in spite of his prosperity in the legal profession. In contrast we are shown a 'Mussalman land-owner' in the Punjab who is alleged to have done so much for his tenants in his village. But unmistakably the land-owner's chief qualification to earn Miss Mayo's approval is that he 'strongly objects to Government's new policy of rapid [!] Indianization of the public services,' and 'takes no interest in Swaraj politics.' The whole object

*Quoted by Miss Mayo on p. 4.

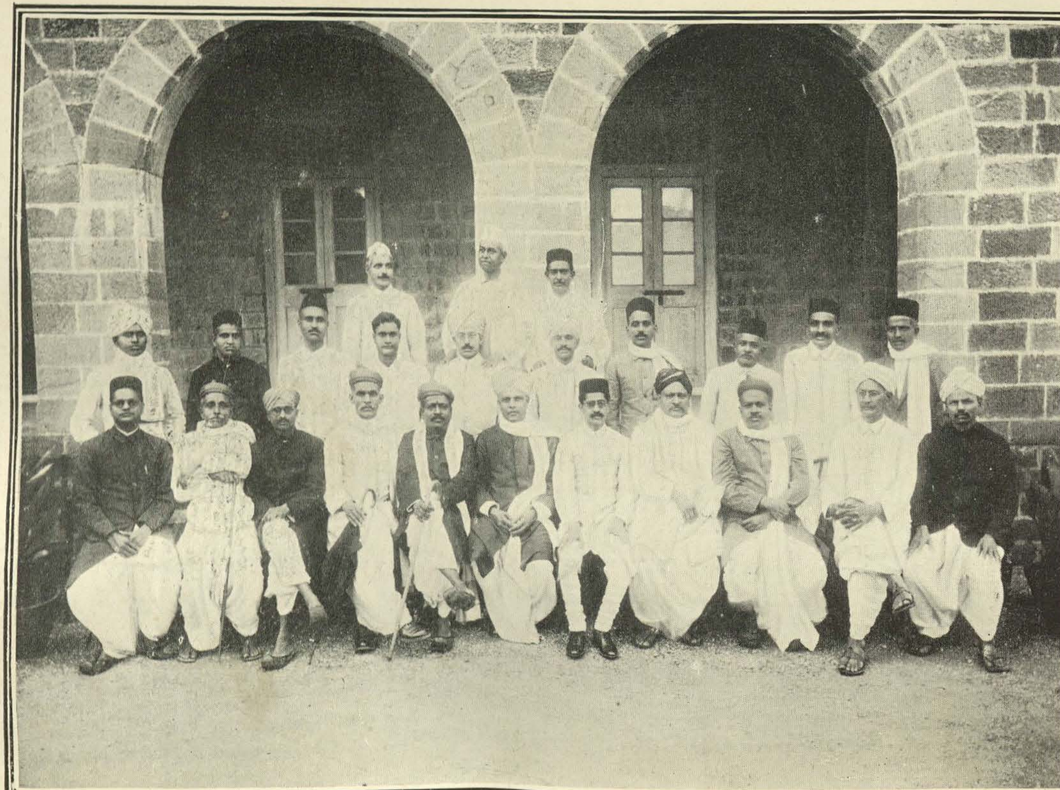
†In Great Britain the minimum salary of certificated teachers is £250 per annum and that of uncertificated ones £145 (*Labour Year Book for 1926*, p. 273). In America, the average salary of teachers exceeds $1,243 a year. (*American Year Book for 1925*, p. 1092).

of Miss Mayo's visit to India and of writing her book is once again emphasized when we find this study in contrasts is followed by the following chit to the British Deputy Commissioner:

" But it is only to the Briton that the Indian villager of to-day can look for steady, sympathetic and practical interest and steady reliable help in his multitudinous necessities. It is the British Deputy District Commissioner, none other, who is 'his father and his mother' and upon the mind of that Deputy District Commissioner the villagers' troubles and the villagers' interests sit day and night."



THE RT. HON'BLE MR. S. SRINIBAS SASTRI.
Head of the Servants of India Society.



Life Members of the Servants of India Society, Poona.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HINDU CASTE SYSTEM

Considered historically, the present caste system is a remnant of medieval times. In ancient India caste was by no means so rigid or exclusive. In Buddhistic and post-Buddhistic periods the castes and sub-castes multiplied and gradually became more rigid. Originally there were only four castes. Then developed a large number of occupational castes corresponding to the medieval trade guilds—institutions which have given the central idea for the school of modern thinkers known as Guild Socialists, whose leaders, like Mr. Penty, want to bring back the social organization of the 'merrie England' days and call it 'post-industrialism.'

Scholars differ as to what exact part each of the various factors—race, occupation, etc.—played in the evolution of Indian castes. Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Census Commissioner, and later Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, discussed the question at length in his Census Report.* According to him the various factors were tribal divisions common to all primitive societies; the guilds based upon hereditary occupation 'common to the middle life of all communities;' the exaltation of the priestly office and of the Levitical blood, and

* *Punjab Castes* (reprinted from Ibbetson's Report), Government Press, Lahore, 1916, pp. 9 *et. seq.*

the ' preservation and support of this principle by the elaboration from the theories of the Hindu creed or cosmogony of a purely artificial set of rules regulating marriage and intermarriage, declaring certain occupations and foods to be impure and polluting, and prescribing the conditions and degree of social intercourse permitted between the several castes.' " Add to these," says Ibbetson, " the pride of social rank and the pride of blood which are natural to man, and which alone could reconcile a nation to restrictions at once irksome from a domestic, and burdensome from a material point of view; and it is hardly to be wondered at that caste should have assumed the rigidity which distinguishes it in India."

Mr. Nesfield, however, who studied the question as Census Commissioner for Agra and Oudh, considers that the classification into castes is based solely on occupation. " Function and function only," says he, " was the foundation upon which the whole caste system of India was built up."* To him ' each caste or group of castes represents one or other of those progressive stages of culture which have marked the industrial development of mankind not only in India, but in every other country in the world wherein some advance has been made from primeval savagery to the arts and industries of civilized life. The rank of any caste as high or low depends upon whether the industry

*Nesfield, *A Brief View of the Caste System in North-Western Province and Oudh.* (Quoted in *The People of India* by Sir Herbert Risley, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1915, pp. 265 *et. seq.*)

represented by the caste belongs to an advanced or backward stage of culture.'

From Census officials we turn to historians. M. Senart,* the French Indologist, sees in Hindu caste only a parallel of the Roman and Greek systems. Risley represents M. Senart as maintaining that caste is the 'normal development of ancient Aryan institutions, which assumed this form in the struggle to adapt themselves to the conditions with which they came into contact in India.' M. Senart relies greatly upon the general parallelism that may be traced between the social organization of the Hindus and that of the earlier Greeks and Romans. He points out a close correspondence 'between the three series of groups, *gens*, *curia*, tribe at Rome; family, *phratria*, *phuli* in Greece: and family, *gotra*, caste in India.' He seeks to show 'from the records of classical antiquity that the leading principles which underlie the caste system form part of a stock of usage and tradition common to all branches of the Aryan people.' Regulation of marriage by caste was by no means peculiar to India, for, as M. Senart points out, the Athenian *genos* and the Roman *gens* present striking resemblances to the Indian *gotra*. 'We learn from Plutarch that the Romans never married a woman of their own kin, and among the matrons who figure in classical literature none bears the same gentile name as her husband. Nor was endogamy unknown. In Athens in the time of

* *Les Castes d'ans l'Inde.* (Quoted by Risley, *op. cit.*, pp. 267 *et. seq.*)

Demosthenes membership of a *phratria* was confined to the offspring of the families belonging to the group. In Rome, the long struggle of the plebeians to obtain the *jus connubii* with patrician women belongs to the same class of facts; and the patricians, according to M. Senart, were guarding the endogamous rights of their order—or should we not rather say the *hypergamous* rights?—for in Rome, as in Athens, the primary duty of marrying a woman of equal rank did not exclude the possibility of union with women of humbler origin, foreigners or liberated slaves. Their children, like those of a Shudra in the Indian system, were condemned to a lower status by reason of the gulf of religion that separated their parents. We read in Manu how the gods disdain the oblations offered by a Shudra: in Rome they were equally offended by the presence of a stranger at the sacrifice of the *gens.*' 'The Roman *confarreatio* has its parallel in the *got kanala* or "tribal trencher" of the Punjab, the connubial meal, by partaking of which the wife is transferred from her own exogamous group to that of her husband.'

M. Senart traces the parallel in notions about food also. 'In Rome as in India, daily libations were offered to ancestors, and the funeral feasts of the Greeks and Romans...correspond to the *Shraddha* of Hindu usage, which...is an ideal prolongation of the family meal.' M. Senart seems even to find in the communal meals of the Persians and in the Roman *charistia*, from which were excluded not only strangers but any members of the family whose conduct had been unworthy,

the analogue of the communal feast at which a social offender in India is received back to caste.' Regarding outcasting and the powers of the caste *panchayat* M. Senart points out: "The exclusion from religious and social intercourse symbolized by the Roman interdict *aqua et igni* corresponds to the ancient Indian ritual for expulsion from caste, where a slave fills the offender's vessel with water and solemnly pours it out on the ground, and to the familiar formula *hukka pani band karna*, in which the modern luxury of tobacco takes the place of the sacred fire of the Roman excommunication. Even the caste *panchayat* that wields these formidable sanctions has its parallel in the family councils which in Greece, Rome and ancient Germany assisted at the exercise of the *patria potestas* and in the chief of the *gens*, who, like the *matabar* of a caste, decided disputes between its members and gave decisions which were recognized by the State."

Risley quotes Sir S. Dill* as pointing out 'how an almost Oriental system of caste' had made all public functions in Rome hereditary, 'from the senator to the waterman on the Tiber or the sentinel at a frontier post.' 'The Navicularii who maintained vessels for transport by sea, the Pistores who provided bread for the people of Italy, the Pecuarii and Suarii who kept up the supply of butcher's meat were all organized on a system as rigid and tyrannical as that which

* *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, 1899. See Risley, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 *et. seq.*

prevails in India... Each caste was bound down to its characteristic occupation, and its matrimonial arrangements were governed by the curious rule that a man must marry within the caste, while if a woman married outside of it, her husband thereby acquired her status and had to take on the public duties that went with it.' The rigidity of caste in Rome can be imagined from the account that follows:†

"The man who brought the grain of Africa to the public stores at Ostia, the baker who made it into loaves for distribution, the butchers who brought pig from Samnium, Lucania or Bruttium, the purveyors of wine and oil, the men who fed the furnaces of the public baths, were bound to their callings from one generation to another. It was the principle of rural serfdom applied to social functions. Every avenue of escape was closed. A man was bound to his calling not only by his father's but by his mother's condition. Men were not permitted to marry out of their guild. If the daughter of one of the baker caste married a man not belonging to it, her husband was bound to her father's calling. Not even a dispensation obtained by some means from the imperial chancery, not even the power of the Church, could avail to break the chain of servitude."

Even to-day where is the country in which caste does not play a prominent part? The European critics forget the beam in their own eye

† Sir S. Dill, quoted by Risley.

when they chide us for the mote in ours. In another chapter we shall say something about the attitude of the white people towards the coloured races and of the treatment the Negro ' citizens ' of the United States get from their white 'Brahmans.' But even if one excludes coloured people—there is no justification for such exclusion—do not wealth and birth very largely regulate classes in European society? They call them ' classes " instead of castes. but spades would be spades, call them by whatever name you please.

Caste in India was a form of social and industrial organization just like 'class' in modern industrial society. The forms differ because the conditions of production have changed. Neither the primitive tribal order nor the feudalism of the middle ages would suit the new economic conditions. Caste in India perfected the artistic sense in the craftsman, such as was not found on such an extensive scale elsewhere. Its principal evil was that it stereotyped society. The present system of classes is by no means a perfect system and one of the great problems of the modern thinker is to find out how to save civilization from being wrecked by class antagonism.

To-day the Indian caste system is beyond doubt an anachronism. The debris of the ages cannot be mopped away in a day, because India is not free to put her house in order. The caste system has varied through the ages with the changing conditions, and there is no reason why it should not once again be made to yield place

to a new order for the new conditions. If a Vedic Indian happened to visit India any day in the post-Buddhistic period he would feel bewildered at the new and complicated system of caste prevailing in society. And there can be no doubt that a politically free India will lose no time in effecting fresh adjustments. As it is, caste has ceased to do us any good at all, and its evils have in certain respects become accentuated.

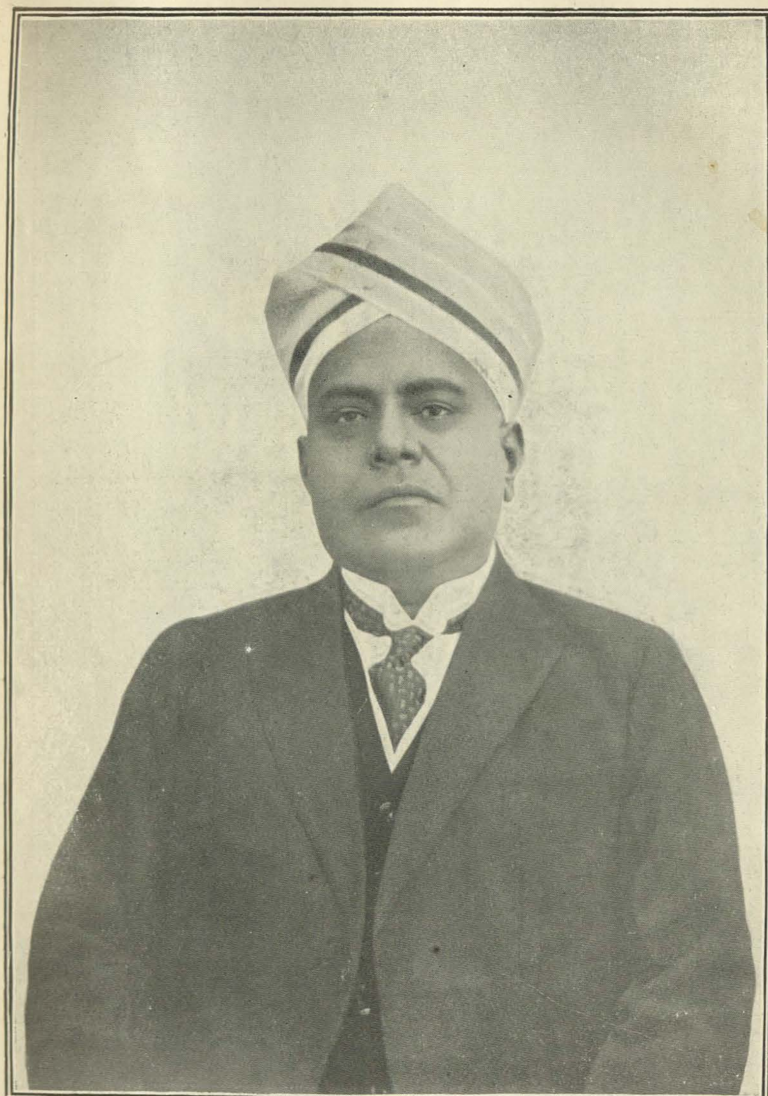
It is said the Hindus are caste-ridden, and therefore unfit for democracy. It is forgotten that the Hindus in the past had at least as much of democracy as the Romans and the Athenians. The West used to talk like that also of Japan. Not very long ago, that gifted writer, Lafcadio Hearn wrote :*

"There was a division also into castes—*Kabane* or *Sei*. (I use the term 'castes,' following Dr. Florenz, a leading authority on ancient Japanese civilization, who gives the meaning of *Sei* as equivalent to that of the Sanskrit *varna*, signifying 'caste' or 'colour.') Every family in the three great divisions of Japanese society belonged to some caste; and each caste represented at first some occupation or calling."

Large classes of persons existed in Japan, who were literally known as 'less than men.' Says Mr. Hearn :

"Outside of the three classes of commoners, and hopelessly below the lowest of them, large

* *Japan: An Interpretation* (Macmillan), p. 260.



SIR S. R. M. ANNAMALAN CHETTIAR, M.L.C., Madras.
The donor of 20 lakhs of Rupees for establishing a university at Chidambaran.



A group photo of the girls and ladies studying at the Bhavnagar Mahila Vidyalaya (Girls' High School), conducted by a member of the Servants of the People Society in Bhavnagar, Kathiwar.

classes of persons existed who were not reckoned as Japanese, and scarcely accounted human beings. Officially they were mentioned generically as *chori*, and were counted with the peculiar numerals used in counting animals: *ippiki*, *nihiki*, *sambiki*, etc. Even to-day they are commonly referred to not as persons (*hito*) but as 'things' (*mono*)... To English readers (chiefly through Mr. Mitford's yet unrivalled *Tales of Old Japan*) they are known as *Eta;* but their appellations varied according to their callings. They were pariah people." The *Eta*, we are told, "lived always in the suburbs or immediate neighbourhood of towns, but only in separate settlements of their own. They could enter the town to sell their wares or to make purchases; but they could not enter any shop, except the shop of a dealer in footgear. As professional singers they were tolerated; but they were forbidden to enter any house—so they could perform their music or sing their songs only in the street or in a garden. Any occupation other than their hereditary callings was strictly forbidden to them. Between the lowest of the commercial classes and the *Eta*, the barrier was impassable as any created by caste tradition in India; and never was *ghetto* more separated from the rest of a European city by walls and gates, than an *Eta* settlement from the rest of a Japanese town by social prejudice. No Japanese would dream of entering an *Eta* settlement unless obliged to do so in some official capacity."

The *Eta*, and then the 'pariahs,' called

Hinin—a name signifying 'not-human-beings.' 'Under this appellation were included professional mendicants, wandering minstrels, actors, certain classes of prostitutes and persons outlawed by society. The *Hinin* had their own chiefs and their own laws. Any person expelled from a Japanese community might join the *Hinin*; but that signified good-bye to the rest of humanity.'

Were the caste-ridden Japanese fit for 'progress' and democracy? Says Hearn:

"Those who write to-day about the extraordinary capacity of the Japanese for organization and about the 'democratic spirit' of the people as natural proof of their fitness for representative government in the Western sense mistake appearances for realities. The truth is that the extraordinary capacity of the Japanese for communal organization is the strongest possible evidence of their unfitness for any modern democratic form of government. Superficially the difference between Japanese social organization and local self-government in the modern American or the English colonial meaning of the terms appears slight; and we may justly admire the perfect self-discipline of a Japanese community. But the real difference between the two is fundamental, prodigious, measurable only by thousands of years."

Hearn's gloomy prophecies notwithstanding, all these caste and class distinctions have now practically disappeared in Japan because the

Government co-operated with the people in the matter and used all its influence towards the abolition of the distinctions and divisions. Japan has been able to overthrow this system because of her political and economic independence. If India had been free she would have done the same.

In India the reformers are working against heavy odds, for they have to contend against prejudice and ignorance without absolutely any help from the State. In fact, the alien bureaucracy have devised new methods of perpetuating the old system and making it subserve their own ends. Recruitment for the army is confined to castes called the 'military castes.' It is not every man who can pass the fitness tests that will be accepted by the recruiting officer. He must come from one of the 'military castes,' who are expected to be more ignorant and 'loyal' than the other castes. Then the right to buy land is also regulated by caste. In the Punjab they have a list of castes for the Land Alienation Act, which are supposed to be 'agricultural castes.' People who have not been actual cultivators for several generations, whose chief vocation now is commerce or industry or state service are privileged under this Act because of their caste label. Such absurdities derive their sanction not from the Indian caste system but from the imperialist policy of playing off 'military and agricultural' against 'non-military and non-agricultural castes' and of trying to create a caste of 'loyalists.'

Those who think that the British Government and the Christian missionary will rid India of the

evils of caste, build castles in the air. The bureaucracy only want to give caste a new orientation to make it subserve their ends. And it is only the superficial observer who thinks that 'Christianity' has 'emancipated' the lower caste people, whereas Christianity in India is even more superficial than these observers. The foreign missionary, who depends on patronage from his own country, is anxious to show results in figures, and solid qualitative work is neglected.

Caste in India is by no means confined to the Hindu. So far as the industrial order of hereditary vocational guilds is concerned Islam did not affect it much. Caste plays an important part even in the life of the Mussalman though he has avoided its grossest forms like untouchability. Christianity has done not even that much. As we shall see in the next chapter, caste and untouchability have been affected but little among the converts.

Hope lies only in a politically free India in which the progressive elements will be as free to effect new adjustments as they were and are in Japan. Till that day comes we have to continue doing our best to overcome the impediments, but we know all the time that the results cannot be proportionate to our efforts.

CHAPTER IX

THE UNTOUCHABLE—HIS FRIENDS AND HIS EXPLOITERS

Miss Mayo has devoted some chapters to an account of untouchability in India. The main thesis of the chapters, namely, that untouchability exists in India, is true. But Miss Mayo would not be her own good self if she stuck to truth alone. Her training as a yellow journalist and her love of revelling in imaginary melodramatic scenes has led her into wild exaggerations and fantastic inventions. In her picture the shades are deepend much beyond what is warranted by reality. The brighter side—the rapidly increasing sympathy for reform movements and uplift work—seems to be entirely non-existent. She is most reluctant to give due credit to Indian reformers. She naively thinks Christianity has always meant the complete emancipation for the low caste and the untouchable. She gives you the impression that the British administrator is the truest friend of the untouchable whom he is ever trying to rescue from the tyranny of the high caste people. Her account, here as elsewhere, consists of truths, untruths and the most dangerous class of untruths which are called half-truths.

Take, for instance, her statement on page 152 of her book. She would have us believe that the untouchable converts to Christianity are 'all set free from caste bondage.' Alas, they are not.

The following observations of Mr. V. N. Narasim Iyengar in the *Mysore Census Report** are as true of the Madras Presidency as of Mysore. They are more or less applicable to the whole of India. Says Mr. Iyengar:

"Roman Catholicism is able to prevail among the Hindus more rapidly and easily by reason of its policy of tolerating among its converts the customs of caste and social observances, which constitute so material a part of the Indian social fabric. In the course of the investigations engendered by the census several Roman Christian communities have been met with, which continue undisturbed in the rites and usages which had guided them in their pre-conversion existence. They still pay worship to the *Kalasam* at marriages and festivals, call in the Brahman astrologer and *Purohits*, use the Hindu religious marks, and conform to various other amenities, which have the advantage of minimizing friction in their daily intercourse with their Hindu fellow-caste brethren."

In the *Census Report of India* (*1911*) we read: "Broadly speaking, it may be said that the Catholic Church tolerates, and Protestant Church condemns the idea of caste."† In the same report a Roman Catholic Bishop is quoted as having said that 'the congregations of Southern India have been founded on the principle that to be

* *Mysore Census Report, 1891* (quoted in the Oxford edition of Dubois's *Hindu Manners*, etc.), p. xxvii.

† *Ibid.*, p. 60.

baptized a man need not renounce his own caste and nationality. They, i.e., the Christian converts, have always been so (i.e., Hindus in its natural and geographical sense) and are accepted to be so with the ranks and rights of their respective castes. In 1921 the total number of all classes of Christians, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians in British India was 4,754,064 of whom nearly 30 lakhs were in the Madras Presidency (and Southern States) alone. The Roman Catholics in the whole of India numbered 1,823,079. Besides these there is a large number of Syrian Christian and other sects which are under the influence of caste. In many of the Roman Catholic churches in Southern India special seats are set apart for the different castes of Christians.

The encomiums that Miss Mayo has lavishly showered on the British Administration for sympathetic zeal for the depressed classes are still more unwarranted by facts. Miss Mayo insinuates that the concern now being shown by the Hindus of upper castes for their low-caste brethren is due not so much to humanitarian feelings as to the consciousness that in neglecting the untouchables lies a political danger to their community. But if political motives influence a certain section of the Hindus, they govern entirely the love and hate and all the predilections of the bureaucracy. The untouchable is a very recent discovery to the bureaucratic sympathies. The bureaucracy have now realised the great value of the untouchables as a weapon against the Indian aspirations for Swaraj. Their existence comes

handy as an argument against nationalist claims for democratic government in India. In their name they can reserve some seats for their own nominees in the legislatures. To enfranchise the untouchables might be dangerous for the government, but the paternal pose is good enough when it can give it more nominated allies by its side in the legislatures.

One form which the bureaucratic sympathy for the depressed classes has taken is to increase the numbers of people belonging to these classes, arbitrarily. We know the story of the Census Commissioner, who, at his sweet will by one stroke of pen transferred thousands of people belonging to certain tribes returned as Hindus to the category of 'animists.' Quite as whimsical seems to be the attitude adopted in giving the numbers of untouchables. Perhaps there is method and political motive in this whimsicality. In 1917, perhaps for the first time, the Government of India made an attempt to give their numbers in their *Quinquennial Report on Education.* The total population classed according to the list in the *Quinquennial Education Report* as depressed amounted to 31 million persons or '19 per cent. of the Hindu and tribal population of British India.'*

Since then the number has swollen, and in the report of 1921 itself the total figures mount up to nearly 52.7 millions. This figure possibly includes many classes that are really not untouchables at

* *Census of India, 1921*, vol. I, p. 225.



SETH JAMNALAL BAJAJ.

Who has given away lakhs for educational and philanthropic purposes.



Pandit THAKAR DAS BHARGAVA, M.L.A.

An orthodox Brahmin who in reply to a question in the Legislative Assembly said he had no objection to eat food touched by an untouchable or to dine with him.

all. The fact is that 'a caste reckoned as untouchable or depressed in one locality is not necessarily so in another.' But the Census Commissioner *guesses* that the number may be between 55 and 60 millions. We may also hazard a guess here. Sir Henry Sharp's education report put the total of depressed classes for British India at 31.5 millions. The table giving this figure put the aboriginal population at nearly 10 millions, and the criminal tribes at nearly half a million. All three categories were for good reason kept separate. But if you wanted one big figure for the untouchables what could be easier than to add up these three totals? This simple process would give you about 42 millions for British India—which means about 52 millions for the whole of India. Was it by this simple process that the Census Commissioner of 1921 got his 'conservative' estimate for the untouchables?†

Mr. Coatman, who edits the Government of India's official year-book, has simplified the situation by accepting the higher figure. He throughout refers to the 60 million untouchables. Miss Mayo goes further and throughout refers to the 60 million untouchables of *British* India. The official figures, 53 to 60 millions, are for the whole of India including the States. Miss Mayo cleverly manipulates figures to warrant more sweeping generalizations.

In 1917, i.e., just before the Reforms were inaugurated, the State had not yet fully realized

† See the Appendix on this subject.

the political value of the untouchable, and so was wasting no patronage on him.

In the United Provinces, out of an alleged total number of 8,374,542 belonging to the depressed classes, the total number of persons at school was only 10,924, i.e., about 1 in 800. In the Punjab out of a total population of over 2 millions (2,107,593) there were only 3,453 at school. In the Central Provinces out of a total population of over 3 millions there were only 26,668 at school. In Madras alone out of a total population of 5,686,342 about one-fifth were at school. These figures probably include also Christian converts. In Bengal out of a total population of 6,742,913 about 81,000 were at school. In Bombay out of a total of 1,635,896 some 30,568 were at school; in Bihar and Orissa out of a total of 1,236,300 persons 19,841 were at school. It will be interesting to read the whole paragraph in which the measures adopted to promote education among these classes were enumerated in 1917.

The one thing to be noted is that while Miss Mayo speaks of the efforts of Christian missionaries in this field, amongst Hindu agencies, she mentions only the Servants of India Society and omits all mention even of the Arya Samaj work.

The *Quinquennial Report** thus briefly describes the educational work among untouchables organised by different agencies:

* For 1912-17.

"The problem is of special importance in Madras, where the Paryars, Pallas, Malas, Madigas, Holayas and others form the great class known as Panchamas. Missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, have been very active among this class and have gained many converts. The number of departmental schools has increased and the Hindu community, as represented in the depressed classes mission, is evincing greater interest in these classes. The number of Panchama children at school has risen from 72,190 to 120,607. The total expenditure on special schools has risen from Rs. 6.08 lakhs to Rs. 8.74 lakhs, to which Government contributes Rs. 4.8 lakhs. In Bombay there are 576 special schools and classes, of which 211 are maintained by local boards, 85 by municipalities and 280 by private agencies. These last though conducted mainly by Christian Missions, are also run by the Depressed Classes Mission Society of Poona and Bombay, aided by State grants. The number of pupils has risen from 26,204 to 30,568. It is reported that there is no great difficulty about the admission of the lowest castes to primary schools in Bengal. Nevertheless, where these are settled in large numbers, Government opens special schools for them. Among Indian societies the Bengal Social Service League and the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes, Bengal and Assam, have opened 19 and 62 schools, respectively. In the United Provinces Boards have recently been required to open special schools without fees for backward or depressed classes when there is a demand. The report enumerates the efforts made

in this direction, but admits that the results are as yet deplorably small. The Punjab report mentions 44 special schools with 1,022 pupils, and the table shows 3,491 pupils under instruction in all kinds of schools. The movement for the education of low-caste children is gaining strength, chiefly through the exertions of Christian Missions and the Arya Samaj. In Bihar and Orissa there are 41 special schools, and Rs. 7,590 was spent on these and other special measures. There are 42 special schools in the Central Provinces, of which more than half are maintained by missionaries. But this policy has received little encouragement, as the administration consistently maintains the principle that boys cannot be excluded from the common schools on grounds of caste prejudice—a principle which the institution of special schools would seem to weaken. The effects of such prejudice are gradually disappearing, and low-caste boys are less often than previously deterred from joining schools for fear of degrading treatment. In Delhi there are 16 mission schools and one municipal school."

Since 1917 when the British Government made the famous declaration about the political goal of British policy in India, great political capital has been made out of the depressed classes. They are a ready weapon in the hands of the reactionary Britons against the Home Rule movement. Not only the officials in India but the British papers like the London *Times* also frequently use the backwardness of these classes and their 'loyalty parades' as arguments against the Indian Nation-

alists. Special demonstrations are got up on special occasions, the expenditure being defrayed from secret service and publicity funds at the disposal of the Imperial and Provincial governments. One of these got up demonstrations provides Miss Mayo with one of the captions for her chapters, 'Behold, a Light,' and fills some half a dozen pages in her book. The Prince of Wales is the light whom the untouchables behold with surprise and grow ecstatic. Miss Mayo waxes eloquent, she transforms their surprise into delight, delight into ecstasy and ecstasy into frenzy.

When the Prince paid India a visit in 1921, the Indian Nationalists declared a boycott of all functions and receptions arranged in his honour. The officials had, therefore, to fall back upon questionable methods, and at several places they imported ignorant people from villages, providing free transport for them, and where necessary free refreshments, and even new liveries. The people came for the sake of the *tamasha* (i.e., show). The loyalty parade described by Miss Mayo possibly did take place. But the minute descriptions in detail, of the Prince's smile and all that, must have been provided by her own imagination, and were probably intended only to create the impression on the reader that it was perhaps an eyewitness that was writing the description. Anyway her account of the *feelings* of the untouchables on seeing the Prince and their ecstatic dances appears to people in India to be a mere figment of her imagination.

Nobody but a political propagandist—and Miss Mayo undeniably is one—would attach much value to such manufactured demonstrations. But Miss Mayo in describing the work of the Britisher for the untouchable, devotes most of her space to such parades and addresses. The whole tenor of the chapter betrays the political motive behind her venture.

Yet it cannot be denied that the problem of untouchability is a real, live problem which the Hindus are grappling with, with all the seriousness that it deserves. Thousands, literally thousands, of Hindus are engaged in carrying on active propaganda against it and in organizing educational and economic facilities for the untouchables on which private citizens spend hundreds of thousands of rupees every year. Miss Mayo's statement that 'to-day the defenders of untouchability are myriad' is a miserable lie as also the assertion that 'few of his [Gandhi's] supporters have at any time cared to follow him so far.' What happened at the annual Hindu Convention of 1926 has also been described by her very inaccurately. The 'squabble' over the resolution relating to the untouchables was certainly not 'directed against those who would relax the pains of the untouchables.' The dispute was over one part and only one part of the resolution—the part relating to the right of the 'untouchable' to enter the Hindu temples.

All educated Hindus recognize that untouchability is a blot on the fair name of Hinduism which

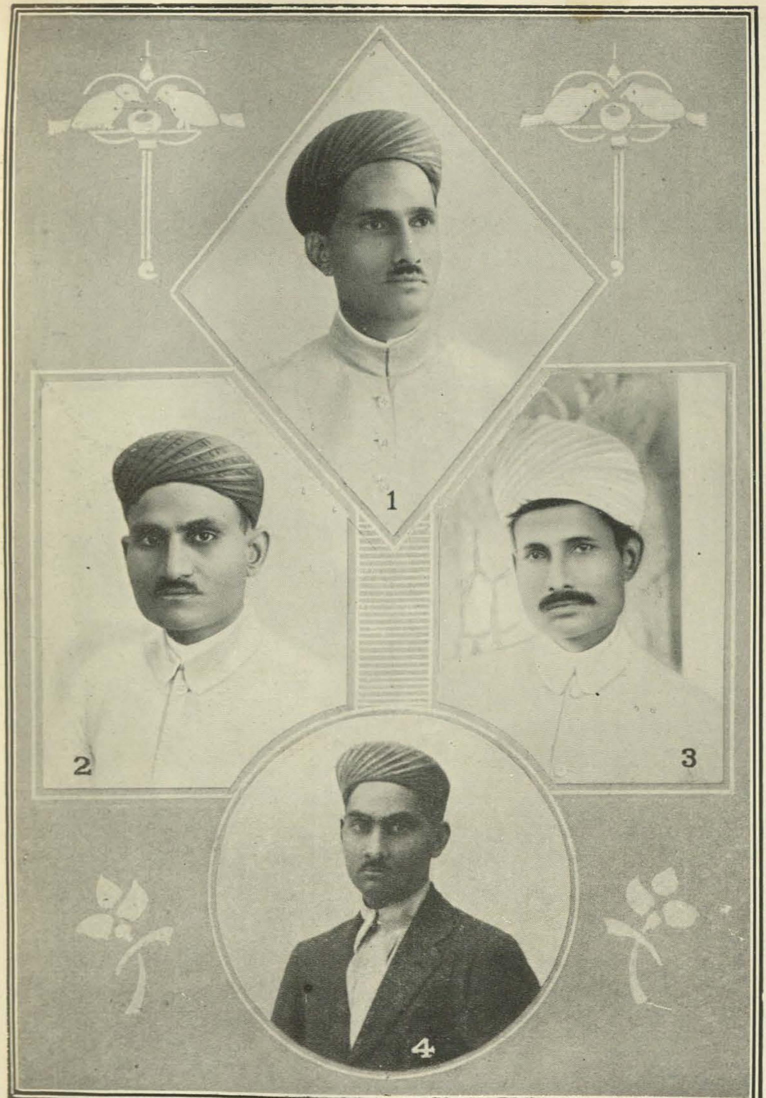
must go. Mahatma Gandhi was perfectly right when he told Miss Mayo that 'in spite of opposition untouchability is going, and going fast.' The opposition is becoming weaker and weaker, and the movement for the removal of untouchability is rapidly coming to fruition.

CHAPTER X

LESS THAN THE PARIAH

One would have thought that the Americans would be the last people to declare Hindus to be unfit for *Swaraj* and democracy because of the existence of a class of untouchables among them. Americans never abdicated their right of self-government or allowed other people to question it, in spite of the existence among them of a larger proportion of 'untouchables' and a severer form of untouchability than that in India. When they issued their famous Declaration of Independence slavery was an established institution in their country. It is less than seventy years ago that the American Civil War, costing hundreds and thousands of lives and millions of dollars, was fought because of this institution. Even to-day the untouchables in India are neither lynched nor treated so brutally as the Negroes in the United States are.

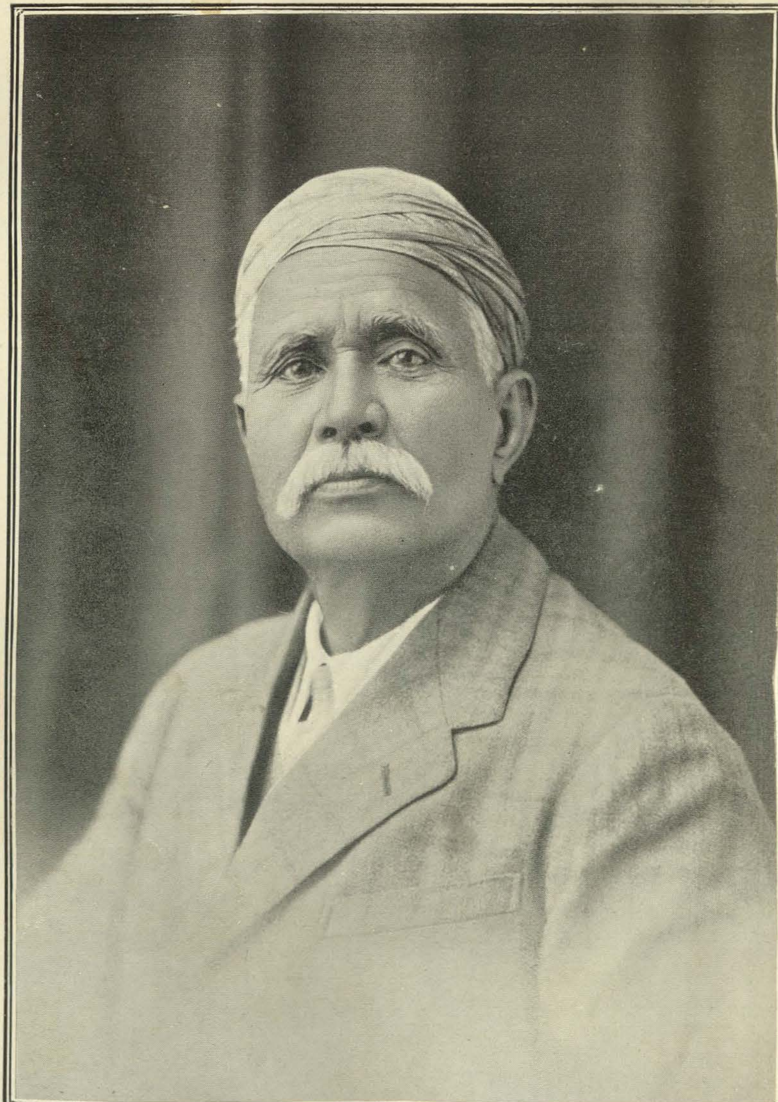
I have visited the United States twice. During my second visit I lived there for about five years, with an interval of six months spent in Japan. I went touring all over the country and made a special study of the Negro problem. In a



MESSRS. BIRLA BROTHERS.

1. MR. G. D. BIRLA.
2. MR. J. K. BIRLA.
3. MR. R. D. BIRLA.
4. MR. B. M. BIRLA.

A family who have spent not less than 50 lakhs of rupees for educational and philanthropic work including the uplift of untouchability.



SETH CHHAJU RAM.

A great educational benefactor who has just founded a hospital for women at his own cost besides founding several educational institutions.

book I finished in March 1916 I said:* "One of the things that prompted me to pay a second visit to the United States of America was my desire to study the Negro problem on the spot and to acquaint myself with the methods that are being adopted for the education and uplift of the Negro population of these States." My keen interest was due to the fact that—

"The Negro is the pariah of America. There is some analogy between the Negro problem in the United States of America and the problem of the depressed classes in India. The two cases are not on all fours with each other, but there is a great deal common to both. The social problem in the United States is, in some of its phases, very similar to the social problem in India. Hence my desire to study it in all its bearings on the spot and to come in contact with the Negro leaders in these States, so as to know their point of view from first-hand knowledge."

In my book I devoted a special chapter to 'The Negro in American Politics.' The account that follows is largely drawn from that chapter.

Very stringent laws were made to keep the Negro down, to prevent his escape, to secure his recapture after escape, to assure the master a complete dominion over him. In 1829 when a master was indicted for beating a slave, the

*_The United States of America: A Hindu's Impressions and a Study_ (2nd edition, Calcutta, 1919), p. 88.

Supreme Court of North Carolina acquitted the former and 'affirmed the master's right to inflict any kind of punishment upon his slave short of death.' It was not right to suppose, the Court went on to say, that the relations of master and slave were like those of parent and child. The object of the parent in training his son was to render him fit to live the life of a free man, and, as a means to that end, he gave him moral and intellectual instruction. With a slave it was different. Chief Justice Ruffin summed up his opinion upon this point in these words:

"The end is the profit of the master, his security and the public safety; the subject one doomed in his own person and his posterity to live without knowledge and without capacity to make anything his own and to toil that another may reap the fruits... Such service can only be expected from one who has no will of his own, who surrenders his will in implicit obedience to that of another. Such obedience is the consequence only of uncontrolled authority over the body... The power of the master must be absolute to render the submission of the slave perfect."

The treatment which the Negro received at the hands of his master under these conditions of law may better be imagined than described.

The cruelties that were inflicted during all this period of slavery from 1619 to 1865 on the Negroes beggar description. There is nothing

parallel to that in the history of India, or for the matter of that in the whole history of Asia. When in 1865 the Northern States of the United States were engaged in a civil war with the Southern States on the ostensible ground of Negro emancipation, liberty-loving Great Britain sided with the South—the same Great Britain whom Miss Mayo extols to the seventh heaven for philanthropic and humane work in India. Humane indeed!

Between 1792 and 1834 the four bordering States, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky denied suffrage to the Negro. In 1835, North Carolina excluded him from the suffrage. New Jersey took away the suffrage of the Negro in 1807, Connecticut in 1814 and Pennsylvania in 1838. "These changes," says Booker T. Washington, "were all evidences of the steady growth in the United States, both North and South, of a caste system which excluded the Negro from the ordinary privileges of citizenship exclusively upon the ground of his colour. In 1802 Ohio demanded a bond of 500 for Negroes who came into the state. A Negro, even though a free man could not at that time testify in a case in which a white man was a party, and Negroes were not admitted to the public schools." Similar provisions were made in other States. In 1833 it was judicially decided that a free Negro was a 'person' and not a 'citizen.'

"In some States [the Negroes] were forbidden to sell drugs, in others they might not sell wheat

and tobacco, and in still others, to peddle market produce or own a boat was against the law. In several States it was against the law for a free Negro to cross the State line; in others a slave who was emancipated was compelled to immediately leave the State."

Slavery was abolished in theory only. For there started a campaign of depriving the Negro of what he had acquired in theory, bit by bit, showing, in the words of Miss Mayo, 'that there are more ways than one to keep the under-dog in his kennel.'

" The resentment and reaction of the South," says Mr. Usher,* " caused the insertion of clauses in the New Constitution denying with vehemence the equality of the white and the black races and affirming that Negroes could not be citizens of the United States. To coerce the Negroes into working ' Vagrancy ' Acts were passed in several States in the fall of 1865 which declared it an offence for Negroes over 18 years old to be without ' lawful employment or business ' or to be found ' unlawfully assembling themselves together—either in the day or night time.' Negroes under 18 years of age, ' orphans or the children of parents who could not or would not support them ' were to be apprenticed until 21 years old by the clerk of the Probate Court at his discretion, preferably to the former owners. Mississippi made a similar provision for the Negroes who did not pay their taxes, and then

* *The Rise of the American People.*

levied a poll-tax of one dollar a head on all Negroes 'for the support of the poor.' The criminal statutes provided fines and compulsory work to be done by the criminal, for the man who would pay in return for the shortest period of service, in such elastic offences as 'malicious mischief,' 'insulting gestures,' 'seditious speeches,' 'or any other misdemeanour.'"

Under the guise of apprenticeship or as a punishment for debt or crime, they put Acts on the statute book defining poverty and crime in broad and comprehensive terms which *ipso facto* made every Negro guilty. They provided compulsory work for Negroes in debt and then had laws passed which instantly put every Negro in debt. The South, besides, very naturally proceeded to elect those very men as senators and representatives to the United States Congress who had been prominent in the administrative and military service of the Confederacy, and organized a State militia, in whose ranks were naturally to be found a large proportion of confederate veterans who had fought in the war on their side. All this raised the suspicion of the North. They thought that everything gained by the war was likely to be lost if they were not vigilant: the South was still in rebellion and would do everything possible to reduce the Negro to the old conditions that obtained before the abolition. Hence the tug-of-war between the Republican Congress and the South.

The methods resorted to for reducing the Negro majorities have been persistently followed

to practically disfranchise the Negro population altogether. *To-day the Negro is politically as much a zero in the South as he was before the emancipation.* The present political position of the Negro in the United States may be stated in the words of another American writer, Mr. Paul Leland Haworth:

"The provisions of the fifteenth amendment prohibiting the denial to citizens of the right to vote 'on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude' would seemingly stand in the way of any legal discrimination against the Negro's political rights; but, as everybody knows, ways have been found for evading the constitutional prohibition. Following the downfall of the Reconstruction Governments the Negroes in the Southern States were virtually disfranchised by force or fraud, but in 1890 Mississippi evolved a plan whereby the end sought could be attained in a quasi-legal manner. To-day every one of the former Confederate States, except Florida, Arkansas, Tennessee and Texas have suffrage requirements which practically eliminate the Negro from politics, while even in the four States named as exceptions he is not much of a factor. By educational or property tests the mass of ignorant and poor Negro voters are excluded, while loopholes are provided for ignorant and poor whites in the shape of 'Grandfather clauses,' or 'Understanding clauses,' which last, white registration officers can apply rigidly to Negroes and leniently to whites. The avowed purposes of these 'suffrage

amendments' was to eliminate the Negro from politics and, in spirit, they certainly violate the fifteenth amendment, and also lay the States which have adopted them liable to that section of the fourteenth amendment which provides for a reduction in representation in proportion to the number of citizens excluded from the suffrage; but the Supreme Court has always carefully evaded the constitutional issue, while Congress has not seen fit to reduce the representation of any State. In view of the existing political situation it is improbable that anything will be done to nullify the suffrage requirements."

But that is not all. In addition to disfranchising the Negro and eliminating him from politics 'by force or fraud' the Southern legislatures have passed numerous discriminating laws against him. In 1910, 26 States (out of 52) either by statute or provision in the constitution forbade the intermarriage of the Negroes with whites. Such mixed alliances are declared void, while the contracting parties are held guilty of a 'misdemeanour' in some States, of 'felony' in others, and of 'infamous crime' in yet others. The punishment varies from imprisonment for ten years at one extreme in certain Southern States to a minimum fine of $50 in one, and to no penalty on the Negro participant in another. Regarding inter-mingling of the races, M. Siegfried remarks that 'the woman may be successfully defended, but the case of the negress is very different.' To get corroboration 'we have only to compare the colour of the primi-

tive Africans with that of the civilized Negroes of America.'*

Besides these, 'Jim Crow Laws' are in force in all the former Slave States providing for separate accommodation for the two races on railway carriages and (in some States) on steamboats and street-cars. Separate waiting-rooms and railroad dining-rooms are also the general rule. Separate cars are usually provided and on street-cars white passengers are usually given front seats and coloured passengers the rear seats. It is usually impossible for a Negro passenger, however rich, to obtain a sleeping berth in railway carriages, and in case such a passenger in Illinois railway, for example, crosses the Ohio river into Kentucky, he must give up his berth and retire to the coloured coach. Very often also, the railway companies provide better accommodation for white passengers than for coloured ones even though they both pay the same fare.

No Southern State permits coloured and white children to attend the same public schools and some States extend the provision to private schools also. One State only recently enacted a law forbidding white persons to teach in coloured schools and *vice versa*.

Legal distinctions and discriminations are mostly confined to the South, but race prejudice

* *America Comes of Age*, A. Siegfried (Jonathan Cape, 1927), p. 99.



Opening ceremony of Shraddhanand Achhut Ashram.
A Home for untouchable boys.



SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE SOCIETY, LAHORE. MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES, MARCH, 1928.
Mohan Lal; Chhabil Das; Amar Nath; Balvantray Mehta; Algu Rai; Mohan Lal Gautam; Lal Bahadur; Raja Ram; Harihar Nath; Lingraj Misra; Jagan Nath; Achint Ram; Lala Lajpat Rai; Gopabandhu Das; Baldeva Chaube; Feroze Chand; Purshotam Lal Sondhi; Dr. Gopal Chand; Savitri; Purshottam Das Tandon.

is to be found practically throughout the United States. Negroes are excluded from hotels, from Y. M. C. A.'s and Y. W. C. A.'s, from theatres and saloons, and are even refused interment in cemeteries for the white, in some cases in direct violation of local laws! Because of public sentiment Negroes attend separate churches and put up at separate hotels and get special seats in the theatres. They are segregated in cities and even in country places and kept apart from white people in all relations of life. The Negro in the United States is worse than a pariah.

The worst form taken by this race prejudice is the 'lynching' of Negroes accused or suspected of crimes against white people, before they have been tried and adjudged guilty by any court of justice. The 'Ku Klux Klan' with its wide organization shows American efficiency in this job. They have the methods of a secret revolutionary society, only they know they can defy 'law and order' with much greater impunity. Speaking of this mob violence against the Negro, the author of *America Comes of Age* assures us that 'the best elements of the community often take part—society people, high officials, and even judges... they have told me this themselves... The cordial, polished gentleman with whom you are talking is possibly a murderer who has gone into the wood at night to kill a man outnumbered a hundred to one; and thousands of others, your friends among them may have been his accomplices.'*

*pp. 98-99.

The table appended below and the accounts following it will give the reader an idea of the extent to which 'lynch law' obtains and of the flimsy pretexts on which lynching is indulged in.

Coloured men lynched without trial.

Year.	No. of lynchings.	Year.	No. of lynchings.
1885	78	1902	86
1886	71	1903	86
1887	80	1904	83
1888	95	1905	61
1889	95	1906	64
1890	90	1907	60
1891	121	1908	93
1892	155	1909	73
1893	154	1910	65
1894	134	1911	63
1895	112	1912	63
1896	80	1913	79
1897	122	1914	69
1898	102	1915	80
1899	84	1916	55
1900	107	1917	44
1901	107	1918	64
		Total ...	2,975

The alleged causes for 1914 were:

	No.	Percentage in total.
Murder	30	$43\frac{1}{2}$
By rioters and night raiders ...	13	19
Personal assaults	10	$14\frac{1}{2}$
Rape, attempts at rape, and presence in women's rooms ...	8	23
Robbery and theft	5	
Arson	2	
Resistance to search	1	

ILLUSTRATIVE MATTER, 1911

The Crime of being a Negro.

October 20, Manchester, Ga.—Because he was accused of knocking down a white man last night, Jerry Lovelace, a Negro, was taken from jail at 2 o'clock this morning and lynched. There were about thirty men in the mob.

Woman and Child Hanged.

May 26, Okeman, Oklahama.—A coloured woman accused of having shot a sheriff was taken by a mob and, together with her fourteen year-old son, was hanged from a bridge. The woman was raped before she was hanged.

Five Innocent Men Lynched.

May 20, Lake City, Fla.—Six men were taken from jail and lynched 'for complicity in the

* These figures are taken from the Chicago *Tribune*. *The Crisis* (the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People) believes that the numbers given by the *Tribune* are estimated too low.

murder of a prominent citizen.' The lynchers came in automobiles and showed the sheriff's young son, who had been left in charge of the jail, a forged telegram purporting to come from the governor and ordering that the prisoners be given up. On investigation it was found that only one of the six men murdered was even accused of a crime. A quarrel between a white man and a coloured man had been brought up before a local court and the coloured man had been exonerated. Immediately afterwards the white man went into the coloured man's yard with a gun. Shots were exchanged and the white man was killed. The coloured man gave himself up at once and the five men with him were being held merely as witnesses.

Wounded Negro Burned to Death.

August 13, Coatesville, Pa.—There is no need to repeat the story of the Coatesville horror. You all remember the man who was taken from a bed in the hospital and burned alive for having shot a watchman when drunk. His writhing body was poked back into the flames as he tried to drag himself away. His teeth and charred bones were kept for souvenirs. All arrested for this frolic have been *acquitted.*

What a Judge Said.

July, Lawrenceville, Ga.—Judge, Charles H. Brand of Lawrenceville Ga., refused to call for troops to protect two Negroes who came before him for trial, one on a charge of an alleged attack

on a white woman; the other for 'loitering in a suspicious manner.'

They were lynched; one was taken from a train where he was in charge of two officers (the train stopping while the passengers saw the lynching): the other was dragged out of jail by a mob several hundred strong.

Judge Brand defended his failure to secure a safeguard for the prisoners, saying:

"I don't propose to be the engine of sacrificing any white man's life for all such Negro criminals in the country... I am in perfect accord with my conscience and my God. I would not imperil the life of one white man to save the lives of a hundred such Negroes."

What Governor Blease Says.

November 11, Honeapath, S. C.—Governor Blease of South Carolina says, in regard to a recent lynching in his State, that rather than use the power of his office in deterring white men from 'punishing that Nigger brute,' he 'would have resigned his office and come to Honeapath and led the mob.'

These barbarities continue to-day as they were at the time I wrote my book from which I have extracted the illustrative matter given above. The following accounts taken from some issues of

The Crisis for 1927 will leave no room for doubt in the matter.

We read in the August issue of that magazine:

Lynchings.

"The recent horrible lynchings in the United States, even the almost incredible burning of human beings alive, have raised not a ripple of interest, not a single protest from the United States Government, scarcely a word from the pulpit and not a syllable of horror or suggestion from the Defenders of the Republic, the 100 per cent. Americans, or the propagandists of the army and navy. And this in spite of the fact that the cause of the Louisville, Mississippi, bestiality was, according to the Memphis *Commercial-Appeal*, 'wide-spread indignation at the refusal of the Negroes travelling in slow, second-handed Fords to give road to faster cars.' And yet hiding and concealing this barbarism by every resource of American silence, we are sitting in council at Geneva and Peking and trying to make the world believe that we are a civilized nation."

Here is another paragraph from the same issue:

Mob Tactics.

"There has been developed in the United States a regular technique in matters of mob violence. Matters move somewhat as follows:

'A crime is committed. The police hasten to accuse a Negro. This, of course, is popular because the white public readily believes in Negro crime. A Negro is arrested. If he is promptly lynched the police are vindicated and the guilty white persons saved from fear of detection. If lynching is delayed but threatened, a mob usually attacks the Negro district. This gives a chance for looting and stealing. If any Negroes defend themselves, immediately the police, often assisted by the militia, promptly disarm all Negroes and charge a number with rioting. If any white people are arrested for rioting nearly all of them are discharged; but the Negroes are held and prosecuted. This serves to intimidate the Negro population and keeps it from attempting any self-defence, however innocent the defenders may be, and in no matter how grave danger to life, limb and property."

The following is from the September issue of *The Crisis*:

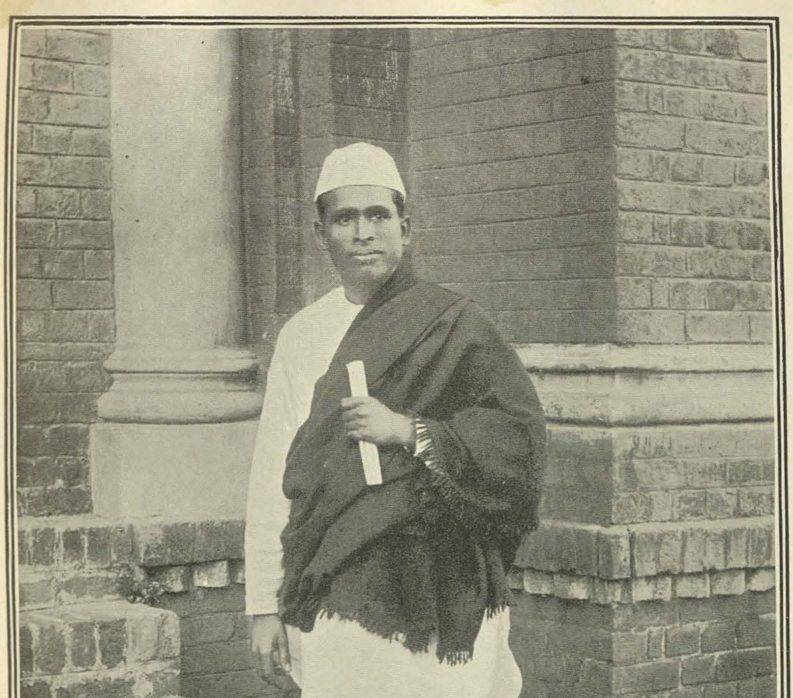
The Aiken Lynching.

"The latest effective piece of agitation which we have been able to launch was against lynching. We have been fighting lynching for a generation but we still have to fight it, and we agitated against the Lowman lynching at Aiken, South Carolina. South Carolina, known as one of the proud States of the South, the home of Southern aristocracy, Aiken the winter resort of Northern aristocracy. Yet it was in this old State and in this select community in this State that within these recent

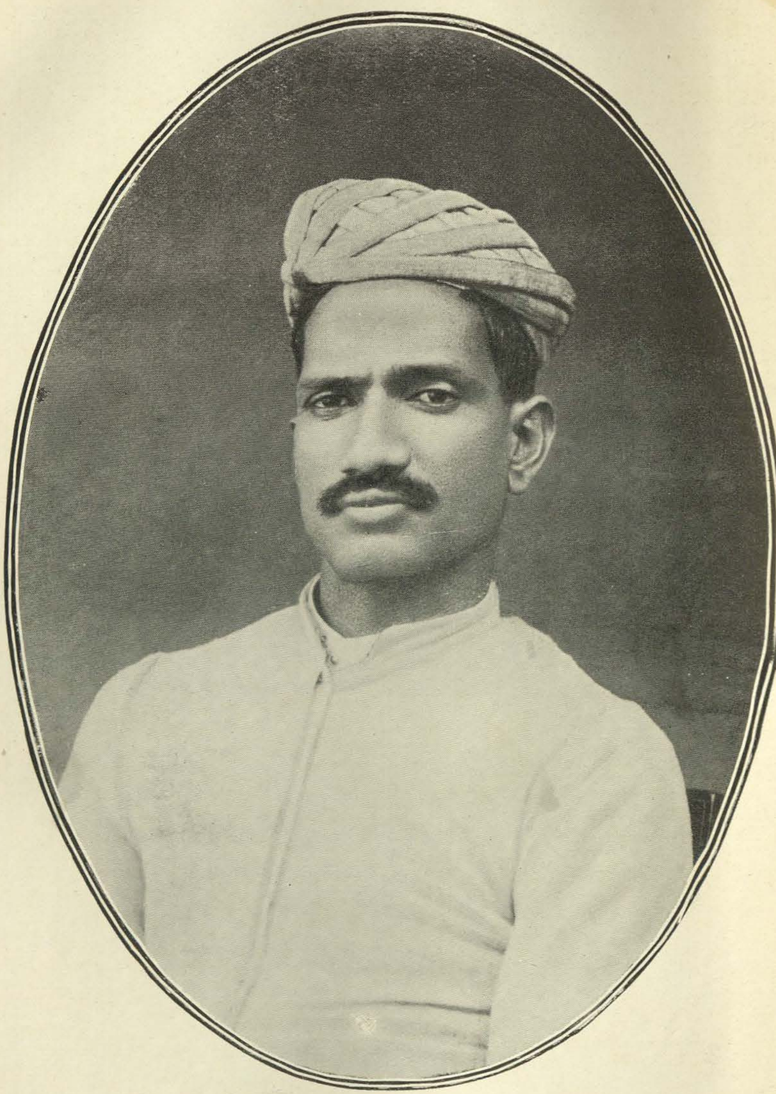
months occurred an incident which should cause every American to hang his head in shame. Three humble Negroes were accused of a crime, accused of murder, hastily tried, farcically tried, convicted and condemned; a few days still awaiting them when their cases were taken up by a coloured lawyer of South Carolina, Mr. N. J. Frederick. Mr. Frederick appealed these cases to the Supreme Court of South Carolina and to the credit of that court and to the State, the cases were remanded to the Circuit Court for trial. And so, in the re-trial Mr. Frederick, assisted by a Southern white lawyer, Mr. L. G. Southard, represented the Lowmans. These three Negroes, two of them men and one a woman, were being re-tried in the courts of South Carolina and in the course of the trial, upon motion of Mr. Frederick, the Judge directed a verdict of not guilty for one of the defendants, and it is most probable that the other two would have been acquitted. But what happened? On that night a mob gathered and entered the jail through the connivance of the officers of the law and those two men and that woman were taken out and shot to death."

This is what we read about what happened in 'dark and benighted Mississippi' in the September issue of *The Crisis*.

"Take the case of lynching a few days ago in dark and benighted Mississippi. While in New York City millions of people were acclaiming Lindbergh who had made an achievement which added to the glory of America, to its name



MR. BEHARI LAL CHOWDHARY.
An untouchable member of the Dehra Dun Municipality.



BABU PRABHU DAYAL HIMATSINGKA.
A prominent Hindu social reformer of Calcutta belonging to the orthodox community.

throughout the whole world, and which added to scientific effort and achievement, at that very hour when millions of Americans, not only white but black, in the City of New York were acclaiming Lindbergh, a mob of a thousand or more barbarians in Mississippi had taken charge of two Negroes, brothers, accused of killing a slave-driving overseer in a sawmill. They took them from the hands of the constituted authorities, and what did they do with them? They chained them to a telegraph pole, baptized them in gasoline and set them afire."

The following account will be found in Dr. Du Bois's editorial 'postscript' in *The Crisis* for July 1927:

Coffeeville, Kansas.

"Two white high school girls in a Kansas city of 20,000 inhabitants claim to have been raped by Negroes on March 17. Bloodhounds are brought. They lead to the Negro quarter and three Negroes are arrested. Two of them are discharged but the other is held. On March 18 a mob of 2,000 attack the City Hall in order to lynch this black man. The mob damages the City Hall, loots stores and chases Negroes. Twenty or more Negroes arm themselves and gather in a pool room. Two of their leaders, Anderson and Ford, shoot into the mob and check it, although themselves desperately wounded. They are now under arrest and on trial for 'inciting to riot.'...

"Then the truth begins to leak out. The white people try to hush the matter up but the Negroes petition for a Grand Jury. The Coffeeville *Daily Journal* acknowledges, May 30, that white men and not Negroes were the bedfellows of the two girls and one white man is to-day in jail charged with rape while one of the girls is also in jail as accessory. What comment is adequate?"

A brief account of the Massacre of East St. Louis in 1917 will serve to disillusion those who believe in the moral superiority of the white man. In this account mark the part played by white women and children:

Massacre of East St. Louis.

"The happenings in East St. Louis, Illinois, in July 1917, were lynch-law on a wholesale scale. The trouble arose because the employers in East St. Louis had imported from the South large numbers of Negro workers to replace the white strikers. The white workers took the law into their own hands, and started Negro hunting. Women, children, the aged, none were spared. Negroes' houses were set fire to—in many cases the inmates could not escape. The white police, it was admitted even by white journals, for the most part, merely stood by or perhaps even helped the white rioters. The following account appearing in *St. Louis Star* throws light on the attitude of the police and militia:

'Some of the militia were active in the fray. Miss Gruening tells of the two soldiers, members

of Troop L, from Loney. She passed them a few days after the riot near Cabokia Creek and entered into conversation with them. They boasted that here 7 'niggers' were thrown into the creek and every time the niggers came up people rocked them till they were all drowned.... 'And how many niggers did you, boys, kill?' she asked. They were modestly uncertain—they were not quite sure how many, but they had certainly shot to kill. That had been their orders. 'What,' asked Miss Gruening, 'to shoot to kill niggers?' They grinned cheerfully. 'Oh, no. Only to kill all we saw starting fires.' 'And did you see any starting fires?' 'No, all we saw was niggers flying.'"

Miss Gruening reported to the Military Board of Enquiry, and offered to identify the boys. The Board put her off with evasive replies.

The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People deputed Miss Gruening and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the gifted Negro writer, to investigate into the outrages. The facts and pictures collected by these two were published in Dr. Du Bois's magazine, *The Crisis*, for September, 1917, and make most gruesome reading. The accounts here given are summarized from an article in *The Crisis*.

The Crisis compares the East St. Louis outrages with the so-called German atrocities, and says: "Germany has nothing on East St. Louis when it comes to 'frightfulness'... In all the accounts given of German atrocities, no one, we

believe has accused the Germans of taking pleasure in the sufferings of their victims. But these rioters combined business and pleasure." This is supported by Carlos F. Hurd, staff reporter of the *St. Louis Post-Despatch*, who, writing in his paper as an eye-witness, says:

"The East St. Louis affair, as I saw it, was a man hunt, conducted on a sporting basis, though with anything but the fair play which is the principle of sport... There was a horrible, cool deliberateness and a spirit of fun about it... 'Get a nigger,' was the slogan and it was varied by the recurrent cry, 'Get another.' It was like nothing so much as the holiday crowd, with thumbs turned down, in the Roman Colosseum except that the shouters were their own gladiators and their own wild beasts."

There you have the American love of slogans and lust for excitement. The jaded senses of the American rioters were athirst for something striking. They wanted to revel in their grim sport. The extreme mechanization of life in America creates an abnormal craving for crazes, stunts, sensation-mongering, and produces yellow journals, and shilling-shockers like *Mother India*. Such orgies have always a peculiar fascination for American crowds. But for utter joy let it be white *versus* black.

The *St. Louis Post-Despatch* writer, continuing the grim tale of what he himself saw, graphically gives the following gruesome account:

" A Negro, his head laid open by a great stonecut, had been dragged to the mouth of an alley on Fourth Street and a small rope was being put about his neck. There was joking comment on the weakness of the rope and everyone was prepared for what happened when it was pulled over a projecting cable box, a short distance up the pole. It broke, letting the Negro tumble back to his knees and causing one of the men who was pulling on it to sprawl on the pavement.

" An old man, with a cap, like those worn by street-car conductors but showing no badge of car service, came out of his house to protest. 'Don't you hang that man on this street.' He shouted. 'How dare you to?' He was pushed angrily away, and a rope, obviously strong enough for its purpose, was brought.

" Right here I saw the most sickening incident of the evening. To put the rope around the Negro's neck one of the lynchers stuck his fingers inside the gaping scalp and lifted the Negro's head by it, literally bathing his hand in the man's blood.

" 'Get hold, all pull for East St. Louis,' called a man with a black coat and a new straw hat, as he seized the other end of the rope. The rope was long, but not too long for the number of hands that grasped it, and this time the Negro was lifted to a height of about seven feet from the ground. The body was left hanging there."

There are numerous accounts as gruesome as this quoted in the article in *The Crisis*.

Even women were not behindhand in this savage saturnalia. Writes Mr. Hurd:

"I saw Negro women, begging for mercy and pleading that they had harmed no one, set upon by white women of the baser sort, who laughed and answered the coarse sallies of men as they beat the Negresses' faces and breasts with fists, stones and sticks. I saw one of these furies fling herself at a militia man who was trying to protect a Negress and wrestle with him for his bayoneted gun, while the other women attacked the refugee.

"'Let the girls have her,' was the shout as the women attacked one young Negress. The victim's cry, 'Please, please, I ain't done nothing,' was stopped by a blow in the mouth with a broomstick, which one of the women swung like a baseball bat. Another woman seized the Negress's hands, and the blow was repeated as she struggled helplessly. Finger nails clawed her hair and the sleeves were torn from her waist, when some of the men called, 'Now let us see how fast she can run.' The women did not readily leave off beating her, but they stopped short of murder, and the crying, hysterical girl ran down the street.

"An old Negress, a few moments later, came along with two or three militiamen, and the same women made for her. When one of the soldiers held his gun as a barrier, the woman with the broomstick seized it with both hands, and struggled to wrest it from him, while the other, striking at the Negress, in spite of the other

militiamen, frightened her thorougly and hurt her somewhat."

One wanted to ' cut the heart out ' of a Negro lying paralyzed from a bullet wound!

When the mob were tired of mere Negro-beating, they added to it the excitement of incendiarism. It was good fun seeing ' Negroes ' being burnt in their houses, or trying to escape from the flames only to fall victims to the fury of the mob. Even here women took a hand. ' They pursued the women who were driven out of the burning houses with the idea not of extinguishing their burning clothing, but of inflicting added pain, if possible. They stood around in groups, laughing and jeering, while they witnessed the final writhings of the terror and pain-wracked wretches who crawled to the streets to die after their flesh had been cooked in their own houses.'

Dr. Du Bois and Miss Gruening collected testimonies of many people in the hospital. The victims examined by them included a large number of women. One of them, Narcis Gurley, in her seventy-first year, thirty years a room-keeper and laundress in East St. Louis, related that she did not stir out of her house—being afraid—till the blazing walls fell in. She got her arms burnt.

Edward Spencer, a Negro worker, five years a resident of East St. Louis, had taken his family, seven children and his wife, to friends out from East St. Louis, and walked down the street with

a white man whom he thought to be a friend. When he passed this man's gate, he was shot by this same man in both arms and back.

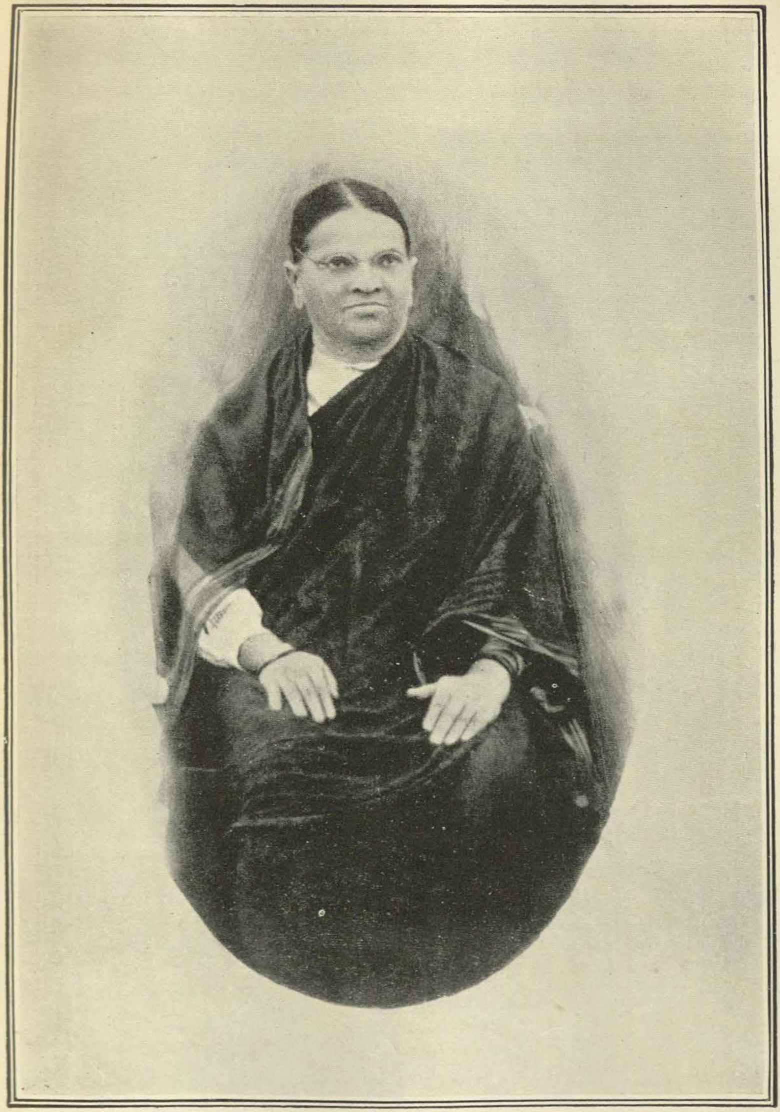
We have not space to reproduce or summarize more statements and accounts of fancy cruelties at East St. Louis. The recital of facts in *The Crisis* is followed by this terse comment, to aid the imagination of the reader in forming a vivid idea of what happened:

"First the mob, always a frightful thing, lowering in dense cowardly ranks through the streets. Then the fleeing Negroes, hunted, despairing. A hoarse sullen cry, 'Get the Nigger!' A shower of bullets, of bricks and stones. The flash of meat-cleavers and pickaxes. The merciless flames. And everywhere bodies, blood, hate and terrible levity.

"All our hunting-songs and descriptions deal with the glory of the chase as seen and felt by the hunters. No one has visualized the psychology of the quarry, the driven, hunted things. The Negroes of East St. Louis have in their statements supplied the world with that lack."

And yet it must not be concluded that East St. Louis was the worst thing for these distressed folk. A worker in a tobacco factory whom the rioters hit with clubs and bricks and stamped upon the head, and who had his arm broken, stated:

"I shall never return to the South, whatever may happen to me here, for in the South it is



MRS. RAMABAI RANADE.
The wife of late Justice Ranade, 1st President of the Seva Sadan Society, Poona.



SEVA SADAN SOCIETY, POONA.

A group of women medical students in the two hostels Nos. IV & V in 1925 located in buildings not owned

always killing and burning some of our people. I shall stay in St. Louis."

That was the resolve of many other victims also. Asked a woman aged sixty-five, whom Miss Gruening saw poking almost in the desolate ruins of what had once been her home, she replied, "What are we to do? We can't live South and they don't want us North. What are we to do?"

The above facts have, we presume, given the reader some idea of the magnitude of the problem of the Negro in the United States. Both the parties to the question, the whites and the blacks, are conscious of the gravity of the situation. The whites themselves are divided into three classes: first those who have nothing but condemnation for the prejudice against the Negro; second, those who condemn the prejudice and yet condone it—in its milder forms—on the ground that there is such a difference between the white man and the Negro that it is impossible for the former to treat the latter as an equal. These people would discriminate in favour of the better class of Negroes, the educated and the cultured among them. Last, but not least, is the class which condemns the Negroes on racial grounds and would in no circumstances have any sort of social relations with them. This class believes that 'no amount of education of any kind, industrial, classical, or religious, can make out of a Negro a white man or bridge the chasm which separates him from the white man in the evolution of human history.'

The Negroes were brought to America as dejected and expatriated individuals. The imported slaves represented the conquered and subdued, the despised and outcast of their own country and race. In America, during the period of slavery, they were denied freedom of education, freedom of motion, means of inter-communication and the privilege of unrestrained assemblage. Generally speaking, everything which tends to civilize a man was denied to the Negro. The master was bound by no law or ethics in his treatment of the slave, man or woman, and to-day a large number of coloured men in America are the standing proof of the immoral lawlessness of their former white masters. Under the institution of slavery the Negro was suppressed below the level of self-respect. The black woman often felt a superior importance in becoming the mother of a tawny child. The white master or overseer felt no legal, social, or conscientious constraint in victimizing the female chattel. "The Negro in this country," says Dean Miller, "is the sacrificial race. He is the burden bearer of the white race. He constitutes the meek sill of society and suffers the ills of that lowly place. He performs the rough work of society. He suffers the affliction and even commits the crimes which always fall to the lot of his status!"

In another place the same writer says:

"The Negro woman has been made to bear the brunt of the evil passions of all the races of men living or sojourning in this country. Within the

veins of the so-called Negro race there course traces of the blood of every known variety or sub-variety of the human family. Not only within the limits of the race itself, but even within the veins of the same individuals, the strains of blood are mingled and blended in inextricable confusion."

CHAPTER XI

LESS THAN THE PARIAH—*concluded.*

The Ku Klux Klan which bursts into front-page headlines several times in a year in every country, is a typically American product—not of the America that produced Whitman and Emerson, but of the America that has produced other types, Babbitt, and W. R. Hearst and Katherine Mayo.

The most important and sensational news that filter to all the countries about the Klan relate to Negro lynching. But in reality the Klan is not merely a lynching secret society—it is the embodiment of the exclusive spirit in America. It is America's Protestant Nationalism of a very aggressive type. It aims at showing the alien, the Catholic, the Jew and the Negro his place. Perhaps some readers will not readily understand the inclusion of Catholics in this list of undesirables. It must, however, be remembered that the feeling against Catholics is not yet past history in America. In spite of their considerable numbers*

*"According to the *Year Book of Churches*, 1924-25, there were, in the year 1923, 18,261,000 Catholic Communicants and 28,366,000 Protestants, though the latter figure would be increased to almost 80,000,000 if we took account of the innumerable adherents who are in sympathy with Protestant ideals, though not officially registered as Communicants." A. Siegfried in *America Comes of Age* (Jonathan Cape, 1927), p. 38.

the Catholics have not so far been permitted to provide even one President in American history. Al Smith, the Catholic candidate finds it hard to overcome these prejudices in spite of his protestations that he is a good Catholic as well as a good American.

The Klan, in its present phase, was organized in 1915. But it is a direct lineal successor of the nineteenth century Secret Society of Know Nothings. The original aim of maintaining the 'supremacy of the white race in the old slave States,' the original ideals, the original methods, the original vocabulary have all survived to this day. So William Joseph Simmons—called 'Colonel' Simmons because he had been a volunteer in the Spanish-American War—the Protestant lay preacher who reorganized the Klan in 1915, was trying no new experiment.

The Klan is a secret society with a mysterious, grandiloquent, solemn, though ridiculous, ritual evolved with a view to filling the ignorant Negro with awe. The mysterious letters of warning and anonymous threats, the white cowls, the silent and solemn torch-light processions, the skeleton hands which clutch at the Negroes, the lynchings and horse-whippings and executions, the defiance of all law and order—have lent the Klan uncanny powers. This secret society has office-bearers with gradiloquent titles. On top, the Grand Sorcerer commanding the Invisible Empire. Then a Grand Dragon for each Kingdom, a Grand Titan for each Dominion, a Grand Cyclop for each Cave.

Also the Grand Monk, the Grand Turk, the Grand Sentinel...

The ritual of this queer but barbarous freemasonry is contained in the *Kloran*, re-written by Colonel Simmons 'to contain all the requisites of an anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish movement.' The anti-Negro part of course needed no addition, being already sufficiently strong.

The Klan is 'consecrated as Protestant to the teaching of the Christian religion, and pledged as white men to the eternal maintenance of white supremacy.' Its numbers* are constantly increasing or decreasing, but it is by all account an organization with considerable influence on politics. Politicians 'are careful to watch their step where the Klan is concerned.'†

The attitude of the Klan towards the Catholics is revealed by the following choice pearls culled by M. Siegfried from *The American Standard*, the fortnightly organ of the Klan.‡ The first is taken from its issue of August, 1925 :

* "In 1921 the New York *World* estimated its membership at half a million; in 1922 a Congressional Committee of inquiry could not find more than 100,000; in 1923 *The World's Work*, suggested the figure of 2,500,000; in 1924 Mecklin, in his excellent book on the Klan, speaks of 'millions.' Decadence had however set in, first in the South and then in the Southwest. In September, the Klan was still able to fill the streets of Washington with an immense procession, but in February 1926, an inquiry made by the New York *Times* reveals an absolute rout." *America Comes of Age*.

† *Ibid.*, p. 135.

‡ Siegfried, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

"Do you know that Rome looks upon Washington as the future centre of her power and is filling our government departments with Papists, that the hierarchy for many years has been buying strategic sites in our capital, that in our Department of State at Washington, 61 per cent. of the employees are Roman Catholics, that in our Treasury Department, in which the duty of enforcing prohibition is vested, 70 per cent. of the employees are Roman Catholics?"

The next one is from its issue of October 1, 1925:

"We again take the occasion to attack the sinister purposes and persistent efforts of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, to foist upon us the belief that Christopher Columbus was the discoverer of America, and through this fraudulent representation to lay claim to inherent rights which solely belong to Nordic Christian peoples, through the discovery of this continent by Leif Eriscon in the year 1000."

M. Siegfried humorously suggests that there were no Protestants in the year 1000, and therefore Leif Eriscon must have been a Catholic! The reader will appreciate this reference to the Papal claims more readily when he is told that a false encyclical was once produced (towards the end of the last century) in which the Pope was made to claim the entire American continent on the ground that Columbus was a Catholic.

This controversy evokes much lively interest. One may try to imagine whether if an alien third

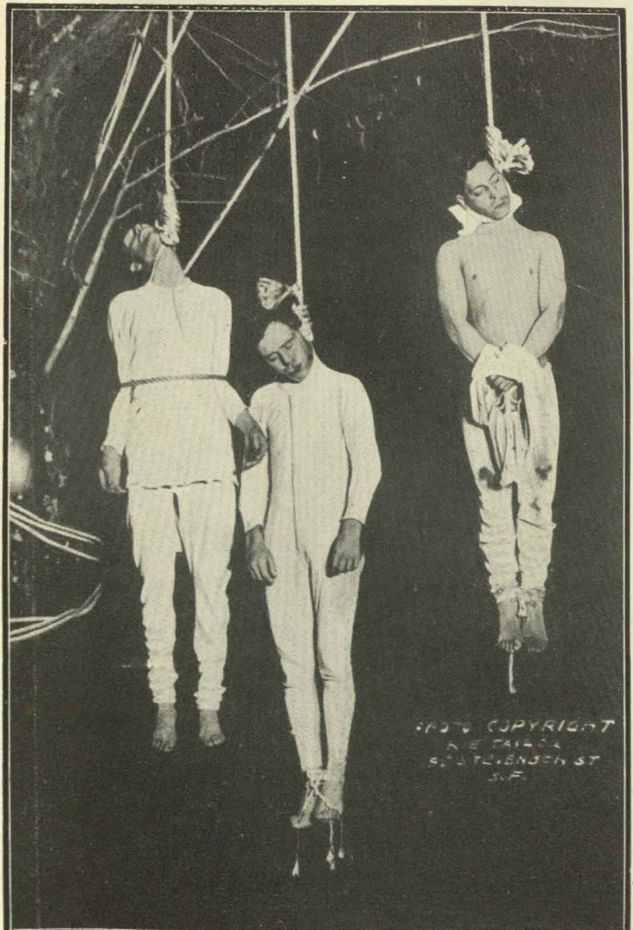
party, like the British in India, were in power at Washington for a couple of decades, the Catholics and Klansmen of America would not be flying at each other's throats even more furiously than the Hindus and Muslims of India?

That is rather a digression. What however is very relevant to ask here is, 'Is the unjustifiable and cruel attitude of the Brahman towards the pariah more unjustifiable and more cruel than that of the Klansmen of America towards the Negroes?'

*

Yet another class of America's mercilessly persecuted untouchables is that of the Red Indians. Ever since the discovery of America by Europeans they have been exterminated as ruthlessly as the bison and other wild animals of the land. The record of the government and of the citizen is equally black.

Now they are not chased and hounded like wild animals They have come up to the level of the African natives. Just as for the Masai in East Africa, special land reserves are set aside on which these people are herded. As in East Africa the richest lands are under the white men, so the Red Indian gets the 'worst lands in which life could be sustained at all.' (Though, much to the discomfiture of the whites, some of this bad land had concealed within its bosom rich deposits of mineral oil, and they have added largely to the Red Indian wealth.)



LYNCHING IN U. S. A.



Negro burnt to death in the United States of America.

The Red Indians are made to live in insanitary surroundings. Their death-rate is much higher than the white death-rate. Tuberculosis and trachoma are said to be specially prevalent among them.

The United States Government is spending money on the education of the Red Indians. But the expenditure is made through unsympathetic agency and does not produce adequate results. The New York correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* recently quoted the testimony of Mr. H. L. Russell, construction chief at a Red Indian school, as to the inhuman treatment of Red Indian boys at school. Mr. Russell's letter was placed before the Committee on Indian Affairs of the U. S. Senate, and part of it reads thus:

"I have seen Indian boys chained to their beds at night for punishment. I have seen them thrown in cellars under the building, which the superintendent called a gaol. I have seen their shoes taken away from them, and they then forced to walk through the snow to the barn to help milk. I have seen them whipped with a hemp rope, also a water hose, (and) forced to do servant's work for employees and superintendents without compensation, under the guise of industrial employment and education."

In short, says the correspondent, the Dotheboys Hall system is still alive and flourishing.

In 1926 the Red Indians in the United States numbered 349,964. Citizenship is supposed to

have been conferred upon them. In reality, however, they are not only absolutely without any political power, but even civic rights are also withheld from them. The Federal Indian Bureau of the United States Government—which provides employment to nearly 5,000 salaried white men—has complete control of the property of all 'incompetent' Indians. The property of those directly under control of the Indian Bureau is valued at £300,000,000, of which the money and securities amount to £14,000,000. These 'incompetents' cannot take any legal step without the approval of the Indian Commissioner in Washington. 'They may not make a will, execute a lease, sell or give away their land unless he (the Commissioner) consents. They are permitted to retain counsel to represent them, but there are numerous complaints that their choice is limited to certain attorneys known to be amenable in general to the wishes of the federal authorities.' This last sentence, used recently by a New York correspondent, is once again reminiscent of Miss Mayo's observation that there are more ways than one of keeping the under-dog in its kennel.

This is the country from which Miss Mayo hails. For her to sit in judgment on us in the matter of the treatment of the 'depressed classes' is like the pot calling the kettle black. Yet the United States of America is considered to be the freest country in the world. Free indeed! Even now lynching of the Negroes goes on accompanied by unmentionable cruelties and barbarities worthy of the modern 'civilization.'

Miss Mayo and the Anglo-Indians pose as the friends of the 'depressed classes.' It pays the Britisher to play off Hindu against Muslim, Brahman against non-Brahman, high caste against low caste It pays him to show a political sympathy for the depressed classes. But the moral hollowness of his pretensions is exposed when one remembers what treatment the coloured races are receiving at his hands throughout the world. Leave aside his wars of extermination in furtherance of the imperialistic cause, even then you have the Massacre of Amritsar and the 'crawling order.' In daily life the arrogance of the white man is seen wherever white and coloured people come together. The Britisher pretends he is the 'trustee' of the Kafir interests in Africa. The trustee deprives his ward of his freedom as well as his land. The ward drudges and the trustee enjoys the fruit of his toil. The trustee treats the ward in daily life much worse than the untouchable is treated in India. There is segregation not only in building houses but in everything in life. In many places the white man's roads and railway trains are closed to his ward. In India the colour arrogance in its more blatant forms is perhaps decreasing, but even now cases occur when Indians of culture and of the highest social standing are refused admittance into railway carriages by the arrogant whites.

Before I close this chapter I wish to guard against being understood to have produced all this evidence as a defence or in extenuation of untouchability. I condemn untouchability in the

strongest terms possible as an absolutely indefensible, inhuman and barbarous institution, unworthy of Hinduism and the Hindus. It is a blot on what is otherwise one of the noblest of cultures—if not the noblest and most humane culture—the genius of man has evolved during the whole history of the race.

We have not included in this description the treatment that the Jewish citizens of several States even now get. The mere mention of the two words 'pogrom' and 'ghetto' is indictment enough.

We plead guilty to the charge that our social system developed caste enormities, and we are now trying to undo them as best as we can. But certainly it does not lie in the mouths of the white people to tell us that we are a 'world menace' or that we treat a section of the humanity as 'less than men.' White imperialism is the greatest world menace known to history, and its racial arrogance rests on the assumption that those who are not 'white' are 'less than men.' It has deprived vast populations of political and civic liberties, and is ruthlessly exploiting them for economic ends. It has perpetrated vandalistic enormities; amongst the more recent of such acts one may cite the bombardment of Damascus, Queen of the East, by the French. Unless it is promptly and effectively brought under check it promises not merely to bomb out non-white civilization, but even to end *all* civilization in a death dance—a dress rehearsal of which we have had in

the World War of 1914—inspired by greed and jealousy.

What are the caste cruelties of India put by the side of what the white man has done to the non-white people?

Indians are asked to be proud of the British Empire, but are treated as helots in all parts of the Empire. In Australia, Canada, South Africa, they have suffered under all sorts of handicaps, and been subjected to all sorts of humiliation. They may not be allowed access to the white people's hotels, restaurants, cafés and other places.

But all this becomes a tame affair when one considers the treatment meted out to the African natives whose trustees the white people pretend to be. You require the pen of a Nevinson or a Morel to paint the horrible and blood-curdling picture. Mr. Morel who made a lifelong study of the subject was forced to the conclusion :*

" What the partial occupation of his soil by the white man has failed to do; what the mapping out of European political 'spheres of influence' has failed to do; what the maxim and the rifle, the slave gang, labour in the bowels of the earth and the lash, have failed to do; what imported measles, smallpox and syphilis have failed to do; what even the oversea slave trade failed to do, the power of

* *The Black Man's Burden* (London: National Labour Press, 1920), pp. 7-8.

modern capitalistic exploitation, assisted by modern engines of destruction, may yet succeed in accomplishing.

For, from the evils of the latter, scientifically applied and enforced, there is no escape for the African. Its destructive effects are not spasmodic: they are permanent. In its permanence resides its fatal consequences. It kills not the body merely, but the soul. It breaks the spirit. It attacks the African at every turn from every point of vantage. It wrecks his polity, uproots him from the land, invades his family life, destroys his natural pursuits and occupations, claims his whole time, enslaves him in his own home."

A history of this exploitation, or of the misery of the native under it, is beyond the scope of our book. But we may be permitted to give some incidents which will throw light on the 'humane' methods of white imperialism. Our selection will be confined to the rubber plantations of Africa. Speaking of the plantation system of the Congo, Mr. Morel says :*

"We have now to record the operations of a system which Conan Doyle has described as the 'greatest crime in all history'; Sir Sidney Olivier as 'an inversion of the old Slave-trade'; the British Primate as a matter 'far transcending all questions of contemporary politics'; and a British Foreign Secretary as 'bondage under the most

* *Ibid.*, p. 105.

barbarous and inhuman conditions, maintained for mercenary motives of the most selfish character'. These are quotations taken from a mass of similar utterances. It would be an easy matter to fill an entire volume with similar denunciations by men of many countries and of all classes and professions, which resounded in Legislative Chambers, from platform, pulpit, and throughout the world's Press for over a decade. And it is undeniable that all the misdeeds of Europeans in Africa since the abolition of the oversea slave trade pale into insignificance when compared with the tragedy of the Congo. Indeed, no comparison is possible as regards scale, motive, and duration of time alike."

Here is a comment on the 'humane' side of rubber made by an American missionary and quoted by Mr. Morel:†

" It is blood-curdling to see them (the soldiers) returning with hands of the slain, and to find the hands of young children amongst the bigger ones evidencing their bravery... The rubber from this district has cost hundreds of lives, and the scenes I have witnessed, while unable to help the oppressed, have been almost enough to make me wish I were dead... This rubber traffic is steeped in blood, and if the natives were to rise and sweep every white person on the Upper Congo into eternity, there would still be left a fearful balance to their credit."

† *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

This relates to the Belgian Congo. But the French Congo was no better. In 1908 an American missionary recorded the following :*

"Who is to blame for the annihilating conditions existing to-day in French Congo? Commerce is dead, towns, once prosperous and plentiful, are deserted and falling into decay, and whole tribes are being needlessly and ignominiously crushed for the aggrandizement of the few... Towns are sacked and plundered; fathers, brothers, husbands, are put in foul-smelling prisons until those at home can get together the taxes necessary to secure their relief. France has granted exclusive rights to concessionaires who claim everything upon, above, in or about any *hectare* of land described in their grant... To be hurled from active, prosperous freedom into inactive and enforced poverty would demoralize even a civilized country; how farther reaching, then, is it with the savage?... As the French say, the entire country is *bouleversé*, i.e., overthrown, in confusion, subverted, agitated, unsettled. And the French are right in so naming the result of their own misdeeds. All is desolation, demoralization, annihilation. Native customs are violated; native rights ignored... Great plains which not long since swarmed with the life and bustle of passing trade caravans are now silent and deserted. Ant-hills and arid grass and wind-swept paths are the only signs of life upon them."

* *Ibid.*, p. 145.



SEVA SADAN SOCIETY, POONA.

Women entirely supported by the Society in hostels at headquarters Nos. I and III in 1925.



SEVA SADAN SOCIETY, POONA.

A group of probationer nurses and midwives under training in 1925 living in Hostel No. II of the Society.

If one were to make a collection of the most revolting examples of human cruelty, one would do well to turn to Mr. Morel's *Red Rubber* and open the chapter headed, ' Deeds.' Some of the most horrible things I have ever read, I came across in that chapter. An English traveller, E. J. Glave, is quoted by Mr. Morel as having stated :*

" Up the Ikelemba away to Lake Mantumba, the State is perpetrating its fiendish policy in order to obtain profit... War has been waged all through the district of the Equator, and thousands of people have been killed and homes destroyed... Many women and children were taken, and twenty-one heads were brought to Stanley Falls, and have been used by Captain Rom as a decoration round a flower-bed in front of his house."

Campbell, a Presbyterian missionary is also quoted by Mr. Morel at great length.† We make the following extracts from his statement :

" Through the gross and wholesale immorality, and forcing of women and girls into lives of shame, African family life and its sanctities have been violated, and the seeds of disease sown broadcast over the Congo State are producing their harvest already. Formerly native conditions put restrictions on the spread of disease, and localized it to small areas. But the

* *Red Rubber*, (London : National Labour Press, 1919), p. 42.
† *Ibid.*, p. 44.

17,000 soldiers, moved hither and thither to districts removed from their wives and relations to suit Congo policy, must have women wherever they go, and these must be provided from the district natives. Native institutions, rights and customs, which one would think ought to be the basis of good government, are ignored."

Here is an incident of the 'ivory regime' narrated by Mr. Campbell:

" After that Katoro, another very large chief living near the apex of the western and eastern Lualaba, was attacked. The crowds were fired into promiscuously, and fifteen were killed, including four women and a babe on its mother's breast. The heads were cut off and brought to the officer in charge, who then sent men to cut off the hands also, and these were pierced, strung, and dried over the camp fire. The heads, with many others, I saw myself. The town, prosperous once, was burnt, and what they could not carry off was destroyed. Crowds of people were caught, mostly old women and young women, and three fresh rope gangs were added. These poor 'prisoner' gangs were mere skeletons of skin and bone, and their bodies cut frightfully with the *chicotte* when I saw them. Chiyombo's very large town was next attacked. A lot of people were killed, and heads and hands cut off and taken back to the officers... Shortly after the State caravans, with flags flying and bugles blowing, entered the mission station at Luanza, on Lake Mweru, where I was then alone, and I shall not soon forget the

sickening sight of deep baskets of human heads. These baskets of 'war trophies were used...for a big war-dance, to which was added the State quota of powder and percussion-caps.' "

Before we close this part of our evidence which depicts white civilization in its true colours we must give a few extracts which relate to the events of the twentieth century. On April 10, 1900, the following confession was made by one, Lacroix, agent of the Anveroise Trust :*

"I am going to appear before the Judge for having killed 150 men, cut off 60 hands; for having crucified women and children, for having mutilated many men and hung their sexual remains on the village fence."

Mr. Morel relates many incidents about 1903-05 and even of later dates, but considerations of space rule these out. It must not, however, be inferred that these things are mere ancient history. During and after the War much fuss was made of German cruelty in the Colonies. But that was only propaganda carried on with the usual ethics of propaganda. For otherwise how do you account for the fact that unmentionable cruelties have been perpetrated even in the post-War years by the hypocritical mentors of Germany?

A well-known French writer, M. André Gide, recently went on a pleasure trip to Africa. His

**Ibid.*, p. 54.

Journal de Route was published by the *Nouvelle Revue Francaise*. M. Gide saw horrible things in the regions occupied by the rubber concessionary companies. Here is one of the choice bits which M. Gide culled from the diary of a white about the crimes of the French administrator, M. Pacha :*

" M. Pacha announces that he has finished his repressions of the Bayas in the environs of Bodo. He estimates (his own avowal) the number of killed at one thousand of all ages and both sexes. In order to prove the results of the battle, the guards and partisans were commanded to bring to the commander the ears and genitals of the victims. The date of this affair was the month of July.

" The cause of all this is the C. F. S. O. (*Compagnie Forestiene Sangha Oubangui*). With the monopoly of rubber and with the complicity of the local administration it reduces the natives to abject slavery."

The white exploiter combines callousness with resourcefulness. Against this formidable combination the poor native is absolutely helpless. There seems no exaggeration in Morel's conclusion that—†

" Thus the African is really helpless against the material gods of the white man, as embodied

* See *New Masses*, (New York), Jan., 1928.

† *Red Rubber*, p. 9.

in the trinity of imperialism, capitalistic exploitation, and militarism. If the white man retains these gods and if he insists upon making the African worship them as assiduously as he has done himself, the African will go the way of the Red Indian, the Amerindian, the Carib, the Guanche, the aboriginal Australian, and many more. And this would be at once a crime of enormous magnitude, and a world disaster."

Liberal opinion in the 'civilized' world received a shock when, a short time ago, two British judges in the British Protectorate of Sierra Leone upheld the continuance of slavery under native chiefs. It is perhaps little realized that the native in Africa can be reduced to a virtual state of slavery even where slavery is said to be non-existent. In East Africa the British have set apart reserves of land for the Masai and other tribes which are not enough to support them. Further they have imposed taxes on them to find money for which they are forced to work on the white man's plantations on the white man's terms. To what helplessness this system reduces the native is a story that has been well told by Dr. Norman Leys, for long a British officer of health in East Africa, in his book, *Kenya*. It has more recently been related again also by a British engineer, McGreggor Ross.

The principle of native reservations is being introduced in South Africa as well. The Native Affairs Act promulgated by the Union Government last summer comes, as Dr. Norman Leys points out in a Press article, as 'the coping stone

of the policy which is embodied in the Colour Bar Act that prohibits natives from engaging in certain skilled trades, and in the measure that deprives the natives of the Cape Province of the restricted franchise they have hitherto enjoyed.' Under the new South African Act the Governor-General may, 'whenever he deems it expedient in the general public interest, order the removal of any tribe or portion thereof or any native from any place to any other place within the Union upon such conditions as he may determine, provided that in case of a tribe objecting to such removal no such order shall be given unless a resolution approving it has been adopted by both Houses of Parliament.'

So the law has found a way of curbing the natives who had organised themselves into trade unions, and it may, if it is allowed to have its way, also find a way of depriving the natives of their lands. By what consequences to the native such deprivation may be followed, can be easily imagined.

CHAPTER XII

WOMAN IN INDIA: A RETROSPECT*

Vedic Period.† There can be no doubt that the position of woman in India has very much deteriorated since the Vedic times. There is a consensus of opinion that 'the position held by the Aryan woman in the Vedic Punjab was a most honourable, nay, an exalted one, which later influence and development changed by no means for the better, but rather, and very much, for the worse.'‡ The Vedic literature contains no discussion as to the relative positions of man and woman in an abstract sense. In the Rigveda woman is mentioned as maiden, wife, and mother, and her rights and obligations as such are very briefly alluded to. As a maiden she had the same rights of protection, maintenance and education as a boy had. In the choice of a mate she appears as free as the other sex. The Vedas presuppose some love-making on the part of boys and girls before marriage. There are many references to 'the love of the youth for the maiden' and his seeking her, as also 'to their mutual affection.' In support of this, see Rv. X, 85, where Soma is supposed to

* The contents of this chapter are drawn from two articles by me which appeared in June and July, 1918 in *Young India*, a monthly Journal I was editing in New York.

† Vedic period, from 1500 B. C. backward. Epic period, 1500 B. C. to 500 B. C. Sutra period about 500 B. C.

‡ See Ragozin: *Vedic India* (Story of Nations), 1st edition.

have wooed Surya, the maiden daughter of the Sun-god, Savitar. Surya is called a 'willing bride' and immediately after marriage she is taken by the bridegroom in great ceremony to his home, where the marriage is consummated.

Verse 36 prescribes the marriage formula which is, to this day, repeated by every Hindu bride and groom at the marriage ceremony. 'By the right-hand, for happiness I take thee, that thou mayst reach old age with me, thy husband, *Aryaman*, *Bhaga*, *Savitar*, *Paramodi** gave thee to me, to rule our house together.'

On arrival at her husband's home, the bride is welcomed thus:

"Here may delight be thine, through wealth and progeny. Give this house thy watchful care. Live with thy husband, and in old age mayst thou still rule thy household. Here now remain nor ever part; enjoy the full measure of thy years; with sons and grandsons sporting, be glad in heart within thy house."

Then comes the final benediction, first by the husband and then by the rest of the assembly. Says the husband:

"Children and children's children may *Prajapati* gives us. May *Aryaman* bless us with wealth unto old age. Enter thy husband's homestead. Within the house may man and beast increase and thrive. Free from the evil eye, not lacking

*Names of Vedic deities.

wedded love, bring good luck even to the beasts; *gentle of mind, bright of countenance, bearing heroes, honouring the gods, dispensing joy.*" [Italics are ours.]

Referring to this Mr. Ragozin* remarks: 'Might not the passage in italics be labelled for all times 'The whole duty of woman?' He also adds: 'How absolute the wife's and mother's supremacy is here proclaimed and consecrated by the husband... Even the popular life of modern nations—especially the Slavs and Germans, where the son's bride enters her husband's family in an avowedly subordinate capacity, and becomes almost the bond slave of his parents, his sister's servant and scapegoat—fall far short of the ideal of domestic life set up by our so-called barbarian ancestors,'—meaning thereby the Aryans who composed the Vedic hymn referred to above.

The hymn presupposes a society in which—

(*a*) The parties to marriage were grown-up persons competent to woo and be wooed, qualified to give consent and make choice.

(*b*) The bridegroom was supposed to have a home where his wife could be mistress, even in case his parents and brothers and sisters, for some reason, happened to live with him, thus giving her the position of supremacy in the household.

(*c*) The object of marriage was the mutual happiness of the parties, the raising of children,

* *Vedic India*, p. 372.

the service of the gods and the accumulation of all kinds of wealth.

It should be noted, that, unlike the Christian ceremony of marriage, the Hindu marriage rites do not require the wife to pledge obedience to the husband.

In this society, monogamy was the rule, though polygamy existed among the highest classes, as an exception;* on the other hand polyandry was not known to the Vedas.

Marital infidelity was, of course, disapproved, though cases of illegitimate love were not unknown, as they have never been in any age in any part of the world. The marriage ceremony was, in essence, the same as prevails throughout the length and breadth of India to-day.

There is little information about the rights the wife enjoyed in the property of her husband. As to the wife's right to her own property—the dowry and presents which she got from her parents and friends, etc.—there is nothing to indicate that she had not absolute control over it then as now. In this respect the position of the Hindu woman has always been much superior to that of her European sister. The poetical ideal of the family was decidedly high, and 'we have no reason to doubt,' remark Macdonnell and Keith, 'that it was often actually fulfilled.' The complete supremacy of the

*Ragozin's *Vedic India*, p. 373. *Vedic Index* by Macdonnell and Keith, p. 478.

wife as the mistress of the household has already been evidenced by the hymn quoted above. Moreover, we notice that the wife was a regular participator in the religious duties of her husband. No religious ceremony could be considered complete and efficacious unless both joined in it. The words, '*pati*' (master), '*patni*' (mistress) signify equality of position in the household. The widow had as much right to take another husband as the widower had to take another wife. Rigveda does not contemplate the custom of *suttee* anywhere*, though it is said that there is a reference to the custom in the Atharva Veda.

There is no trace of the seclusion of women in the Vedic literature, and the whole weight of evidence is in favour of supposing that women enjoyed full freedom of movement.

As regards the education of women, not only was there no restriction, but there is evidence to show that women attained positions of highest distinction, as scholars and teachers.

Epic Period. Coming to the Epic period we notice that the position of woman has not in any way deteriorated. There is the same freedom in the matter of marriage. Nay, even more: the Epic period expressly recognizes marriages of love contracted otherwise than with the consent of parents, for example, that of Arjuna and Subhadra, two of the principal characters in the

* Macdonnell and Keith: *Vedic Index*, p. 488.

story of the Mahabharata. The tendency of the Epic period seems to have been to confer the status of marriage on all permanent unions, however effected—permanent in the intention of the parties at the time of union. In fact forms of marriage are recognized which validate even irregular unions, so that the issue of such unions may not suffer from the stigma of illegitimacy. There are no caste restrictions at all. There is a clear development of the wife's right to, and power over her own property, called *stridhana*, though it would be wrong to say that either the Vedic or the Epic period contemplated the economic independence of woman as it is understood to-day, in the West. It is said that the custom of secluding the women originated in the Epic period, but this opinion is based on very slender data and ignores the weight of evidence on the other side. There are numerous references to women going to witness tournaments, accompanying their husbands in wars, on journeys, and otherwise moving about freely. Whatever authority there is to the contrary refers only to the warrior class. The Epics, it is admitted, have been freely added to, even during recent times, and the probability is that whatever references there are must be of later date, when seclusion of women had come to be looked upon as a mark of respectability.

In no other respect was the position of woman lowered in the Epic period. In fact, I am inclined to think that the position of woman in the Epic period was at its high-water mark in India. Since then it has declined steadily. Singing and danc-

ing and dancing and riding were considered accomplishments and the sex relations were perhaps of the best kind.

Sutra Period. From the Epic period we come to the Sutra period. The Sutra period of Sanskrit literature, stands by itself. Sutra literally means string. The Sutra period literature is embodied in aphorisms. Religion, philosophy, law and science all were reduced to Sutras. This is the period to which most of the 'sacred laws of the Aryans' and the Smritis belong. Their groundwork was decidedly old, but the form belonged to a later day. These were evidently the first attempts of the Hindu Aryans at scientific codification and in their codes we notice a curious mixture of narrowness and liberalism, freedom and restriction in the rules concerning sex relations. It is difficult to fix the period of these laws. European scholars think that they are post-Buddhistic, i.e., subsequent to 500 B.C. Hindus claim a greater antiquity for them. The truth perhaps lies between the two extremes. The originals of these codes were pre-Buddhistic but the codes, as they stand to-day, are post-Buddhistic compilations, to which the compilers added many a rule of their liking or such as they found had already been adopted in practice. The outstanding features of these codes regarding the position of woman may be briefly stated—

(*a*) They lay emphasis on the necessity of a girl being married on the first signs of puberty becoming manifest or within three years of the event and look with approval on marriages even earlier.

(*b*) As such, any consent on the part of the parties becomes out of the question; nor is there any scope for love-making or wooing.

(*c*) But where guardians neglect the marriage of their female wards and let the three-year limit elapse, the girls are allowed to choose their own husbands, regardless of the consent or approval of their parents. The duty, however, of arranging the marriages of girls at an early age, is laid down in such stringent and awe-inspiring terms as to preclude the idea of parents daring to incur the penalties of neglect in this respect, so that the institution became ultimately universal.

We are not quite sure whether the institution was so universal as it afterwards became at the time when the Muhammadan dominance in India began, because instances of girls marrying at an advanced age and choosing their own husbands are not unknown in the first centuries of the Muhammadan rule. The daughters of Raja Dahir made captives in the eighth century A.D. were grown-up maidens, who, by a very ingenious stratagem revenged themselves on their captor. Samjogta, the princess of Kanauj, who chose Prithi Raj of Delhi as her husband in defiance of the wishes of her father, was also a grown-up maiden. These are by no means solitary instances, as the dramatic literature of the period immediately preceding Moslem invasion is full of instances of such grown-up girls falling in love with persons of their liking and marrying them by choice. Kalidasa, the greatest of Indian play-

wrights, flourished in the fifth century A.D. Sakuntala, the greatest of his creations, was a grown-up maiden who accepted the love of Dushyanta without waiting for the consent of her father. Her friends and companions were also grown-up maidens. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller, mentions a case of marriage between a grown-up Brahman young man and a girl with whom he at once began to live and who gave birth to a child of his after one year. This was in the sixth century. The eleventh century Moslem writer, Alberuni, says, 'the Hindus marry at a very young age; therefore the parents arrange the marriage for their sons.' We think it will be fair to conclude that the custom was in the making when the Moslem advent began, and that advent gave it a further point. The reason was that the Muhammadan religion prohibited the carrying away of married women as slaves.

To return to the provisions of the Sutras and the Smritis, the very conception of infant marriage pre-supposes the assumption of great powers on the part of the parents over the person of their sons and daughters. The Hindu law-givers had no difficulty in recognizing this power, but when they came to enunciate the principles which should guide men in their treatment of women, they found a strange conflict of views among the different strata of society. On one hand was the Aryan feeling of high respect for woman; on the other was a notion that she should never be

independent. On one side we find Manu laying down that—*

"Women are to be honoured and adored by fathers and brothers, by husbands as also by brothers-in-law who desire much prosperity.

"Where women are honoured (or worshipped) there the gods rejoice; but when they are not honoured. then all rites are fruitless.

"Where women grieve, that family quickly perishes; but where they do not grieve that (family) ever prospers.

"Houses, which women, not honoured, curse, as if blighted by magic, perish utterly.

"Therefore, they are ever to be honoured at ceremonies and festivals, with ornaments, clothes, and food by men who desire wealth (or prosperity)."

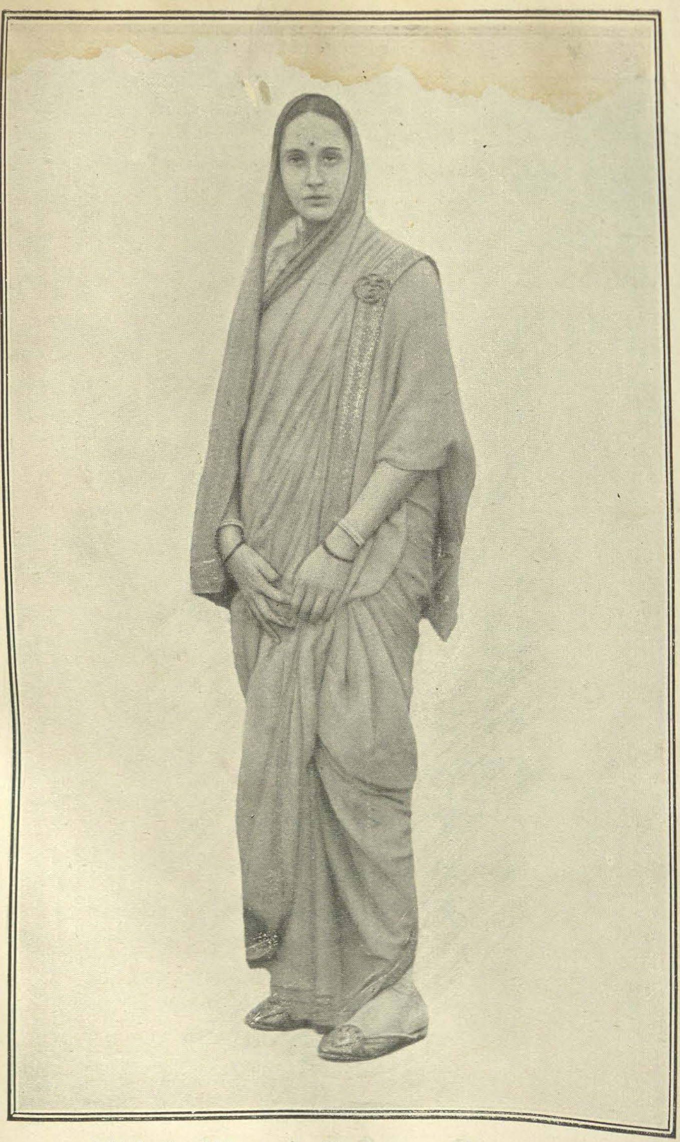
Once more it is repeated that 'if the wife be happy all the house is happy and if she is not happy, all are unhappy.'†

Compare this with the following general disqualifications stated by Manu in chapter V:

"In her childhood (a girl) should be under the will of her father; in her youth of (her) husband;

* Manu, III, 55-59.

† Manu, V, 148-150



All India Women's Conference, Poona, 1927.

Shrimati Saubhagyavati Sarasvatibai Patvardhan, Rani Saheba of Sangli, Chairwoman of the Reception Committee.



ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE, POONA, 1927

her husband being dead, of her son; a woman should never have freedom of action.

"She must never wish separation of herself from her father, husband or sons, for by separation from them a woman would make both families contemptible.

"She must always be cheerful and clever in household businesses, with the furniture well cleaned and with a not free hand in expenditure."†

Again in chapter IX, verses 2 and 3 it is repeated that—

"Day and night they should be kept by the male members of the family in a state of dependence. The father guards them in childhood, the husband guards them in youth and in old age sons guard them."

In verse 7, the husband is enjoined to 'guard his wife with diligence as by guarding her he guards his posterity, his ancestral usages (*kula dharma*), his family, himself and his own duty (*dharma*).' The next two verses explain what is meant by 'guarding.' No man, it is said, can guard a woman by force or by secluding her; only those women are well-guarded, who guard themselves, through themselves, though some suggestions are offered as to how to keep them employed. In these laws the one point constantly kept in view is the purity of the offspring. It is to be

† *Ibid.*, III, 62.

secured (*a*) by a careful selection of the parties to the marriage, (*b*) by insisting on marriages within the caste, (*c*) by laying down a very high ideal of womanly fidelity, (*d*) by giving the husband full control over his wife, (*e*) by pointing out in strong language the evil consequences of marriage out of caste, and (*f*) by assigning a low social position to the issue of mixed marriages.

In the earlier literature, we notice an anxiety to legalize almost all permanent unions, whether the result of love, chance or caprice, in order to legitimize the offspring. It was expressly stated that in the case of marriages out of caste, the caste of the offspring shall be that of the father. The sons of maidens were declared to be legitimate sons of their fathers as well as the sons begotten on another's wife when such person had left the wife without her fault or when he was impotent or consumptive and so on. In the later literature the offspring of all unions out of caste are held as degraded; with a few exceptions the same fate is assigned to the issue of illicit intercourse. It will be interesting at this stage to enumerate the different kinds of marriages recognized by Hindu law.

Hindu law recognizes marriages of eight kinds. Of these four are approved, one is tolerated, the remaining three are disapproved. The fact, however, that they are acknowledged as marriages show that they were at one time legal. The approved forms are those in which the maiden is given away by her guardian, according to rites.

The tolerated one is the union of mutual love apparently without or against the consent of the guardian. The three disapproved ones are those (*a*) in which a price is demanded and taken by the father, (*b*) in which the maiden has been forcibly abducted, presumably against her will, (*c*) in which a man indulges in sexual intercourse with a woman when she is sleeping or otherwise unconscious. This was considered to be the basest act, but the act having been done, it was legalized in the interests of all concerned.*

Hindu Eugenics. Hindus had developed a high idea of the laws of eugenics, as is clear from the following rules which we take from the law books:

Says Narada: "The man must undergo an examination with regard to his virility; when the fact of his virility has been established beyond doubt, he shall obtain the maiden (but not otherwise).

"If his collar-bone, his knee, and his bones (in general) are strongly made; if his shoulders and his hair are (also) strongly made; if the nape of his neck is stout, and his thigh and his skin delicate; if his gait and his voice is vigorous... By these tokens may a virile man be known; and one not virile by the opposite characteristics."†

The fact that Narada lays emphasis on the competency of the man, and Manu on the

* See Narada, XII, 38-44.

† Narada, XII, 8-13.

eligibility of the woman, also shows what a change came about in the ideas of the Hindus from the days of Narada's book to the days of the code which is now extant by the name of Manu.

Says Manu: "Let him (the young man), who has completed his studies and is desirous of becoming a householder avoid for marriage ties these ten families: That by which rites are neglected, which has no males, which possess not the Vedas, the members of which are hairy or have piles; also families afflicted with consumption, dyspepsia (chronic), epilepsy and leprosy.

"Let him not marry a tawny maiden, or one with superfluous members, or a sickly (maiden), or one without hair or with excessive hair, or a chatterbox, or one red (-eyed), or one called after a star, a tree (or) a river; or one called after a bird, snake, or slave; or one with a terrifying name.

"Let him marry a woman not malformed, with a prosperous name, that walks like a *hans* (swan) or elephant, with slender hair locks, and teeth, (and) soft-bodied."

All the lawgivers are agreed that the most approved form of marriage is the one within the caste, though they allow a man of a superior caste to marry a woman of inferior caste. In the case of marriages out of caste but approved, the tendency of the earlier authorities is in favour of the issue getting the status of their fathers, but that of the later ones is against it. Such mixed marriages explain the numerous castes and sub-castes

that are to be found among the Hindus to-day beyond the original four.

A careful study of all the provisions of the present code of Manu makes one think that at the time when this edition was compiled there was a strange conflict of opinion between jurists and lawyers about the rights and position of women. Some were in favour of maintaining the old ideals, while others were inclined to give to men a complete mastery over women.

So far we have considered the position of woman in general, or of woman as wife, but when we come to look into her position as mother we find that she is at once placed on a higher pedestal, a view in which all the authorities agree. In chapter II, 145, Manu lays down that the *acharya* (meaning a spiritual teacher) exceedeth ten *upadhyayas* (meaning an ordinary teacher) in the claim to honour; the father exceedeth a hundred *acharyas*; but the mother exceedeth a thousand fathers in the right to reverence and in the function of educator.' Motherhood, among the Hindus, is the most sacred function. They respect it all through nature. On her merits as a woman, every woman is a potential mother. So every woman, other than one's own wife, or one's own daughter or sister is addressed as mother. When talking to stranger women a Hindu always accosts them as 'mother,' sometimes even as 'sister' but more often the former than the latter. The mothers among the goddesses receive the highest homage and are sometimes placed even above the gods. Similarly, the native

land is also worshipped as the motherland—*Matribhumi*—whence the ironical title of Miss Mayo's book.

The Hindus are generally very tender towards their children. There are, of course, exceptions to the rule. In the darkest period of Indian history certain customs sprang up, which though confined to certain sections of the population reflect the highest discredit on the originators and followers thereof; such as *suttee*, infanticide, the ill-treatment of widows, infant marriage, polygamy, the selling of girls and dedicating of girls to the services of the gods. Missionary zeal sometimes paints them thick, and gives them out as universal customs in India. They are sufficiently bad, and one at least, pretty general, namely, child marriage, but certainly not so bad or so general as they are represented to be. *Suttee* and infanticide were never general. They were confined mostly to royal families or the highest castes. *Suttee* was originally entirely voluntary. Some of these customs have already disappeared. Others are in the process of change and dissolution. All modern reforming agencies are pledged to the restoration of woman to her original high position in society.

Legal Status. Hindu law has always recognized the right of the wife to possess property of her own. In chapter IX, 194-195, Manu says:

" That which is given over the marriage fire, that which is given in the bridal procession, that (which is given over) for an act of love, and

that (which is) received from brother, mother, father, (all this) is called the sixfold property of woman. That which is received as a gift (by a married woman) after her marriage from the family of her husband or of her connections, and that which has been given her by her beloved husband, shall become the property of her children should she die while her husband is alive."

In a joint Hindu family, no one, male or female, is entitled to a definite share of property. The property is managed by the head of the family, in the interests of all the members of the family, male and female. A daughter of the family remains a member of the family as long as she is not married, but when married she joins another family. In divided families, widows, mothers, daughters and sisters are recognized as heirs under certain circumstances. An unmarried daughter, according to some authorities, inherits a share of her father's property along with her brother. Ordinarily when sons survive they take the whole estate of the father, with a legal liability to maintain the women members of the family out of the father's estate. In case of their neglecting to do so and the property being sold, the right of the women members to be maintained out of that property is supposed to follow the property, whosoever may be in possession thereof. If no son survives, a widow inherits the property of her husband with full rights as to the use of the income thereof, but with restricted rights as to the alienation of it. She can only alienate for legal necessity or with the consent of the next heir. On her death

the property goes to the daughters of the family with the same rights as were possessed by their mother. Similarly, the mother is also an heir in the absence of brothers.

The special property of a woman is inherited by her children (sons and daughters) in the first instance, or in their absence by the husband in certain cases, and by her father's family in certain others.

Rights of Adopting a Child. A Hindu woman has full rights of adoption. She can even adopt a son to her husband after his death, if he, in his lifetime, authorized her to do so for him, or if his blood relations consent.

Right to Guardianship of Children. In certain circumstances, a mother has the right of guardianship over her children of both sexes. She is also counted as one of the guardians for the purposes of giving away daughters in marriage.

Rights over Issue. Hindu law books contain very elaborate rules as to the raising of issue, and as to whom the issue should belong after birth. These rules will seem to be very curious to people brought up in conventional Christian theology, but when read in the light of modern advanced thought as to parentage and eugenics they will not be devoid of interest. Manu* likens woman

*Chapter IX, 32.



ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE, POONA, 1927.
Members of the Reception Committee.



ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE, POONA, 1927.
Delegates.

to land and man to seed. In some places the seed is the principal factor; in others, the womb of the woman; when both are good the offspring is considered the best. In a general comparison between seed and womb, the seed is called weightier, for the offspring of every created being is characterized by the characteristics of the seed. Whatever qualities the seed possesses, the same will be found in the produce. 'For (though) this earth is declared to be the eternal womb of created beings, (yet) the seed exhibits in the things produced from it, not a single one of the qualities of the womb. In the earth, even in one and the same (kind of) land, the seeds which spring up after being sown by husbandmen at the (proper) time are of various appearances, each according to its own natural qualities. Rice, *sali* (a kind of rice), *mudga*, sesame, beans, and barley sprout forth according to their seed, and so do leeks and sugar-canes. Hence a well-instructed man, aware of this law and understanding wisdom and science, should never sow seed in the wife of another man.'

Dissolution of Marriage. Marriage, according to the Hindu law, is a sacrament, and in theory, the tie is indissoluble. Once married always married, is the formula. This theory discountenances the remarriage of widows, though it has not in practice operated so strictly against the widowers. The earlier law books, however, show that in those days not only was the remarriage of widows common, but that in certain circumstances both the wife and the husband were allowed to remarry in the lifetime of their former mates. We

shall revert to the question of widows in another chapter.

Remarriage. First, in the case of the woman. Says Narada :*

"When her husband is lost or dead, when he has become a religious ascetic, when he is impotent and when he has been expelled from caste—these are the five cases of legal necessity in which a woman may be justified in taking another husband."

Narada prescribes different periods of waiting for married women of different castes, in case of absent husbands, and says that no offence is imputed to a woman if she goes to live with another man after the fixed period has elapsed. To the males, presumably, Narada allows greater freedom. Starting with a general injunction that 'husband and wife must not lodge a plaint against one another, with their relations or the king, when a quarrel has arisen through passion, which has its root in the jealousy or scorn,' he adds that when husband and wife leave one another from mutual dislike they commit a sin.

Narada prescribes severe penalties for an adulteress but does not omit to say that "if a man leaves a wife who is obedient, pleasant of speech, skilful, virtuous, and the mother of issue, the king shall make him mindful of his duty by inflicting severe punishment on him.'

*Chapter XII, 97-101.

Manu lays down elaborate rules regulating the degree of guilt attachable to a husband in case of tarnsgression of marriage vows in different circumstances; for instance, it is laid down that 'the husband should wait one year for a wife who hates him; at the end of the year he should take away what (he) has given her and not live with her (any more).'* In the case of a wife taking to adultery, Manu excuses her if she hates the husband because he is crazy, degraded, castrated, impotent or afflicted with an evil disease, but not so if he only neglects her, or is a drunkard or troubled with an ordinary disease. Even in the latter case, the wife's guilt affords no ground for his setting her aside for good. She may be neglected for three months. Manu allows a man to 'over-marry in case his wife indulges in intoxicating liquors, or does sinful things, or (always) opposes her husband, or is diseased, or plagues her husband, or is always wasting his money. In the case of sterile women, however, a man has to wait for eight years. But if the wife is of a lovable disposition and endowed with virtue though sterile, the husband can only remarry with the permission of the former.

By the time of the present code of Manu, opinion had swung to condemn the remarriage of widows. I do not think even the present code of Manu makes it illegal, but certainly it does not approve of it. The ideal of marriage set up by the present code of Manu is high from the ordinary conventional point of view, but rigid and illiberal

*Manu, IX, 77.

from the point of view of modern thought. In the opinion of Manu, the whole duty, in brief, of husband and wife towards each other is that they cross not each other, in thought, word or deed till death. And the promise is that they, who righteously discharge this duty here, shall not be parted hereafter even by the death of the body, but shall be together in the world beyond.*

The idea was one of complete blending of the two personalities into one. It is said that 'as the quality of the husband is, such becometh the quality of the faithful wife, even as the quality of the waters of the river becometh as the quality of the ocean into which she merges'.† The husband here is likened to an ocean and his superiority is presumed. In another place in the same chapter,‡ it is said that 'the man is not the man alone; he is the man, the woman, and the progeny.' The sages have declared that 'the husband is the same as the woman,' as it is expressly stated elsewhere§ that 'if the wife be of noble soul and the husband sinful and she determines to follow him in death unwidowed, then, even as the strong snake hunter grasps the serpent and drags it out to light from the deepest crevice, even so shall her love and sacrifice grip the husband's soul and drag it from its depths of sin and darkness into the realms of

* Manu, IX, 101; V, 165.

† Manu, IX, 22.

‡ *Ibid.*, IX, 45.

§ *Ibid.*, IX, 23.

light above.' Here the love of the wife is assigned a higher position than the wisdom of the husband. The whole idea is poetically put in a book of mythology,* where it is said:

"He is Vishnu, she is Shri. She is language, he is thought. She is prudence, he is law. He is reason, she is sense. She is duty, he is right. He is author, she is work. He is patience, she is peace. He is will, and she is wish. He is pity, she is gift. He is chant, and she is note. She is fuel, he is fire. She is glory, he is sun. She is orb, he is space. She is motion, he is wind. He is ocean, she is shore. He is owner, she is wealth. He is battle, she is might. He is lamp, she is light. He is day, and she is night. He is tree, and she is vine. He is music, she is words. He is justice, she is truth. He is channel, she is stream. He is flagstaff, she is flag. She is beauty, he is strength. She is body, he is soul."

It will be observed that in this description she is superior in certain respects and he in certain others. Both are 'equally important and indispensable and inseparable; that each has distinct psycho-physical attributes and functions which supplement each other; that both are present in each individual life; but that in certain epochs one with its set of forms and the other with its differentia and progress, in another set of forms.'†

* Vishnu Purana, I, 8. Vishnu Bhagavata, VI, 19.

† *The Science of Social Organization*, Bhagwan Das (Adyar: Theosophical Society), p. 222.

The English expression 'better half' has a equivalent in Sanskrit (*ardhangini*) which mean only 'one half of the body.' The idea is probably based on Manu I, 32, in which it is said that Brahma, the Creator, having divided his own body into two, became male by one half, and female by the other. So divided, a man and woman only become a perfect person when again joined in wedlock, and only as one perfected person ca they perform effective religious ceremonies.